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# **African Mozambican Immigrants**

**Narrative of Immigration and Identity, and  
Acculturation Strategies in Portugal and England**

by

**Sheila Khan**

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the  
degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

**University of Warwick**

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‘É assim ... que eu sei’

*é assim que eu acredito que tu existes,  
porque ainda as tuas lágrimas choram  
nos meus sonhos  
e o teu riso são campainhas que me despertam  
e me fazem acreditar que nunca partiste.  
São apenas histórias vazias o que nos contam  
O que eles não sabem é que a eternidade existe  
e que tu nunca partiste.*

I dedicate this thesis to my mother,

Aissa: my first breath of life,  
my wings, my African Queen.

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# ABSTRACT

This research project aims to argue that the notions of ethnic identity, ethnic group and ethnicity should be thought of as socially constructed. In order to strengthen the above assumption, fieldwork was undertaken by examining African Mozambicans' narratives of immigration and identity, and acculturation strategies in Portugal and in England.

The reading of the data suggests that individuals' perceptions of their identity and of the social world change over time, and in accordance with the social structures in which their lives are imbued. In addition, it is certain that social actors use discourse as a narrative form to justify and legitimise their identity options, and acculturative strategies.

Taking into consideration the analysis of fieldwork material, it is possible to conclude, on the one hand, that the notions of ethnic identity, ethnic group and ethnicity are socially constructed, on the other hand, that the term ethnicity should be addressed as a detached human experience from the terms of ethnic identity and ethnic group.

# ABBREVIATIONS

<b>CONCP</b>	Conferência das Organizações Nacionalistas das Colónias Portuguesas
<b>FRELIMO</b>	Frente de Libertação de Moçambique
<b>MANU</b>	Mozambican African National Union
<b>NESAM</b>	Núcleo de Estudantes Secundários de Moçambique
<b>OMM</b>	Organização das Mulheres Moçambicanas
<b>UDENAMO</b>	União Democrática Nacional de Moçambique
<b>UNAMI</b>	União Nacional de Moçambique Independente



# 1 Introduction

*“Apesar das ruínas e da morte,  
Onde sempre acabou cada ilusão,  
A força dos meus sonhos é tão forte,  
Que de tudo renasce a exaltação  
E nunca as minhas mãos ficam  
vazias.”*

Sophia de M. Breyner

I have many reasons to be quite curious about the notions of identity, ethnic identity and ethnicity. If I had to trace down my own narrative, I would say that I do not see myself exclusively as being Mozambican, Portuguese, Indian, or black. On the contrary, I would describe myself as a person with multiple identities and with my own, personal ethnicity. As far as I am concerned, it is the cultural trajectories and experiences that delineate a person's individuality and identity.

Jose Eduardo Agualusa, an Angolan writer asserted that *“definir uma pessoa como angolana ou portuguesa cada vez tem menos significado ... . No mundo em que vivemos, de grande facilidade de comunicação, a identidade cultural não tem a ver com o lugar de nascimento, nem sequer com aquele onde a pessoa vive, mas com uma cultura universal”*<sup>1</sup>. Agualusa (2002) argued that one's identity is more related to an individual's trajectory rather than to his or her birth place. On the contrary,

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<sup>1</sup> Silva, Rodrigues da (2002), 'Jose Eduardo Agualusa – Em tres continentes'. *Jornal de Letras*, n.824, May, pp.6-8.

added the writer, due to the widely growing facilities of communication of the global world, identity is, therefore, an outcome of the prevalent universal culture.

During my life I have listened to people using words indiscriminately such as ethnic group, minority group, and so on. I have always questioned what makes an individual belong to an ethnic group? What makes people think that a black person is an ethnic person? Throughout my experience as a student, I have realised that those people who were identified as culturally and socially distinctive on the basis of their appearance, did not perceive themselves as being a minority, either culturally, or socially. It was obvious from my own experience that social prejudice and stereotypes were at stake in the formation of the previous notions.

When I started my Ph.D. in January 1999, I was convinced that I might prove that a person can be rooted in an African ancestry without being 'ethnic'. At least, my own perception of myself inspired me to focus on this standpoint. Moreover, I became interested in deepening this belief into a coherent and credible argument. Somehow I felt at a loss in terms of who could represent the subject of my research. Ironically, I began thinking of my own cultural itinerary and wishing that I knew a little bit more about those that, like me, left Mozambique for Portugal and England. Questions incessantly entered from my head: *'what do these people feel regarding their own identity?'*; *'Do they perceive themselves as Mozambicans, Portuguese, or simply people with multiple identities?'*; *'To what extent does the experience of immigration propel individuals into the categories of ethnic group and ethnic identity?'*; *'Are these people an ethnic group?'*; *'Or, if they are not an ethnic group, do they have their own ethnicity?'*; *'what is ethnicity?'*.

Progressively, I ended up with the following title “*African Mozambican Immigrants: Narrative of Immigration and Identity, and Acculturation Strategies in Portugal and England*”.

Among so many possibilities, I chose to call these individuals, Africans. I knew that this option was risky and may appear controversial and polemic. Why Africans, instead of blacks? At the starting point of this research project, I was plagued by doubts on how to present a convincing explanation regarding this title. Nonetheless, I have decided to use the term ‘*African Mozambicans*’. First, because the term African, I believe reinforces the argument of an Africa that exists beyond the existence of tribes and extended landscapes. The Africa that was profoundly touched by Western empires, colonial struggles, culturally manipulated and fabricated into countries that did not exist prior to the presence of the White man. An Africa fraught with different cultures, religions, and mixed races.

Second, I wanted also to emphasise the concept of mixed race as most suitable means of grasping the cultural richness that this research sought to shed light on. One may ask, why not categorize these individuals as ‘*mulattoes*’ or as ‘*assimilated*’? As far as I am concerned, these were concepts fabricated and constructed by Portuguese colonial interests and motivations to psychologically manipulate and subjugate the native population. To encapsulate these individuals into this category meant a disregard for their cultural diversity and multiplicity, that was brought into the acculturative arena. Evidently, it is not my aim to override the enormous impact Portuguese colonial system had – and still has - upon these individuals’ identities. However, my intention is to argue that it is likely to be more useful to bring together



the Portuguese colonial presence, and the evidence that Mozambique is a country embedded in a culturally diversified Africa.

Bearing in mind the above explanations, the present study will examine those African Mozambican immigrants who left Mozambique, after its independence (25<sup>th</sup> June, 1975) to go to Portugal and England<sup>2</sup>. Fundamentally, this research aims to examine these individuals' trajectories of immigration, narratives of identity and strategies of acculturation in distinctive host societies. Taking into account the research premise, that individuals' identities and perceptions of the world are socially constructed, according to the constant inputs emerging from the rapport between them and social structures, three research hypotheses have emerged to investigate the scope of this project. They are:

- a) African Mozambican immigrants are not an ethnic group;
- b) Ethnicity is a term that has to be thought of as disassociated from the notions of ethnic group and ethnic identity;
- c) The notions of ethnic group, ethnic identity and ethnicity are socially constructed.

This research project will be comprised of seven chapters. Chapter 2, will look at the literature on the notions of identity, culture, group, acculturation, strategies of acculturation, and identity. Theoretical models, typologies, and empirical evidence on the concepts of acculturation, and identity will be discussed and analysed. Furthermore, the terms of ethnic group, ethnic identity and ethnicity will be

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<sup>2</sup> The geographical term 'England' is an intentional choice here. Because most of the Mozambican immigrants can be found in London, where the fieldwork was conducted.

considered by offering an examination of the prevailing debate between primordialists and circumstantialists. Ultimately, a closer look at the concept of ethnicity will be given through the presentation of diverse levels of analysis: *ethnicity as a cultural phenomenon*; *ethnicity and power relations*; finally, *ethnicity articulated with structure and agency*. During this chapter, a theoretical framework will be constructed to provide this study with significant literature: on the one hand, to support the research premise that individuals socially constructed their identities and perceptions of the social world, and on the other hand, to discuss and confirm either the research hypotheses or the research expectations (see *Figure 3*).

Chapter 3, will be developed according to the theoretical framework delineated in Chapter 2. With this in mind, methodological contributions stemming from Symbolic Interactionism, and Social Constructionism will be explored in order to strengthen the correspondence between these methodologies and the above research assumption: that individuals establish a rapport with the social world through discourse. Thus, the tradition of discourse analysis and interpretative repertoires will be explored and analysed as they are considered to be the most advantageous method for the investigation of this research. In addition to these methods, because individuals are believed to use discourse as a narrative form, in order to articulate their identities and representations with levels of temporality and contextuality, a brief examination of the notion of narrative will be presented.

Chapter 4, is intimately related to the research need to inspect the immigrants' historical and sociological background prior to the immigration project to Portugal. Here, the history of Mozambique will be related regarding the following historical



moments: Portuguese colonialism (1926-1974); the process of decolonisation (1964-1974); the Transitional Government (1974-1975); the Independence of Mozambique (1975, 25<sup>th</sup> June); and FRELIMO's revolutionary program of a new Mozambican society and further economic, social and cultural developments which occurred in Mozambique (1975 onwards). This chapter is aimed at documenting this research with substantial information through which we can gain an insight into these individuals' experiences and identities throughout diverse historical moments; of their identification with each moment, and of the reasons that have led them to pursue an immigration project to Portugal.

Chapter 5, will present the most fitting interview technique, and will include a descriptive explanation of the steps undertaken for the development of fieldwork. In this respect, an articulation between the theoretical, methodological and historical framework with the selection of the interview technique and its construction will be provided. Thus, specific issues will be referred to, such as: research problems regarding the preparation of fieldwork; sociological portrayal of African Mozambican immigrants; and reflexivity.

Chapter 6, will bring together earlier theoretical and fieldwork contributions. This chapter will be focused on the examination of Mozambican immigrants' perceptions of Portuguese society, modes of acculturation and identity strategies developed in the host society. Furthermore, a comprehensive explanation will be given regarding the social and cultural motives related to the new project of immigration to England. Here, immigrants' representations of English society, forms of acculturations and identity strategies fostered in the English receiving society will be analysed.

Chapter 7, will look at the participants' identification process, in addition to their perceptions on Portuguese nationality, the return project to the homeland, and of Mozambican culture and community. Further information will be presented by confronting immigrants' representations of community and cultural representation, with Mozambican political and associative leaders' perceptions of a Mozambican community. Ultimately, on the grounds of the assembled data, the term '*domestic ethnicity*' will be proposed, and discussed in association with the theoretical framework.

Chapter 8, will offer an overview of the diverse phases underlying this research project. It will also refer to the research hypotheses, and research expectations in relation to the empirical evidence. Moreover, research limitations related to the development of the study will be reported. A final reflection will be given by outlining the human and research assets this study has accomplished.

## 2 Literature Review

*“Pois se estar nu é estar sem palavra,  
de facto a palavra veste o homem ...”.*

Catherine Clément

As indicated in the introduction, three hypotheses prompted the development of this research project, they are:

- a) African Mozambican immigrants are not an ethnic group;
- b) Ethnicity is a term that has to be thought of as disassociated from the notions of ethnic group and ethnic identity;
- c) The notions of ethnic group, ethnic identity and ethnicity are socially constructed.

On the grounds of the abovementioned hypotheses, relevant literature on the topic of immigration, acculturation, identity, ethnic identity group, as well as, ethnicity has been approached. Fundamental literature, notions and debates stemming from sociological and psychological<sup>3</sup> areas of research have been taken into consideration, to cover the scope of this study. This chapter will be ordered into three intertwined parts. Each part will be subsequently organised according to a particular table of contents.

Part one will concentrate upon the notions of identity, social identity, group and culture. In addition, an analytical examination of Tajfel's Social Identity Theory

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<sup>3</sup> Specifically, those notions, models and empirical evidence emerge from the cross-cultural psychology domain.



(SIT) (1970, 1972), as well the contribution of other authors on the subject of social identity will be thoughtfully regarded.

Part two will approach the significant research notions, models and empirical evidence arising either from psychological or cross-cultural psychological research. Here, particular attention will be paid to the Model of Acculturation Strategies (MAS) proposed by Berry (1980), and consideration given to the inherent advantages and disadvantages associated with the model (*e.g.*, Khan and Vala, 1999). Finally, a theoretical framework will be delineated through the intersection between the Model of Acculturation Strategies (Berry, 1980) and the Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1970, 1972).

Part three will dedicate its focus towards the notions of ethnic group/identity, and ethnicity, with particular attention given to the longstanding debate between primordialists and circumstantialists. In the final part, special attention will be given to the various levels of analysis of ethnicity, in order to shed light on the complex levels this notion demands. These levels are: *ethnicity as a cultural phenomenon*; *ethnicity and power relations*, and *ethnicity as an attached element to social structure and action* (action and agency will be treated as interchangeable terms).

## **2.1 Part One**

### **2.1.1 Identity as Social Identity**

On the Oxford English Dictionary the term identity is defined as a “*noun of condition or quality ... to express the notion of ‘sameness’, side by side with those of ‘likeness’*”

and 'oneness'" (1989: 620). The same term appeared on the Social Sciences Encyclopedia similarly depicted as the abovementioned, as a term referring "*to a person's self-definition in relation to others*" (1985: 771).

To be exact, the literature on identity indicated that it was Mead (1977) who emphasised the social side of the self, by arguing that individuals experience themselves from the standpoint of the social group to which they belong. However, Mead stressed that it was important to distinguish the public (social) sphere of identity from a more private (or personal) one. Hence, it is common to associate social identity with a more social scene in contrast to personal identity, which refers to those inner attributes of the self, such as personality traits, physical attributes and interpersonal styles.

Augoustinos and Walker (1995) have argued that identity is one of the most central issues people face throughout their lives. In accordance with their assumption, both authors believe that the individuals' social psychology is determined in relation to social category, social position and social status. Having this idea in mind, the authors have reminded us that "*our social identities are normally attached to, and derive from, the groups to which we belong. ... social identity is not just another aspect of an individual identity. Social identity is not reducible to personal identity .... Indeed, strictly speaking, the notion of 'personal' identity is a fiction – all forms of self-construction, must be social*" (Augoustinos and Walker, 1995: 98).

A contrasting view to the above social psychological approach to identity, has emerged from the sociology of knowledge perspective. Basically, the sociology of



knowledge advocated that it is necessary to focus attention on the relationship between social structures and the private 'worlds' in which individuals live, that is, the comprehensive universes of reality within which an individuals' experience can be meaningfully interpreted. Following this line of thought, Berger (1966) referred to identity as not being entirely social, by clinging to the assumption that each individual has the ability to engage him or herself in a private world-building without being a "*passive reflection of the social structures*" (Berger, 1966: 110). However, the sociology of knowledge approach to identity fails because the private world building of the self is not immune to the social and cultural structures and environment wherein the self is embedded.

More explicitly, Augoustinos and Walker have argued that "*at a broad level, the forms and processes, and even the content, of the perceptions of the world are structured and limited by the dominant social representations surrounding us*" (1995: 107). Therefore, why is social identity assumed to be so crucial in individuals' lives? To answer this question, many researchers (Hutnick, 1991; Augoustinos and Walker, 1995; Turner, 1982) asserted that social identity represents the essential element in the comprehension of human behaviour and psychology.

### **2.1.2 Social Identity Theory**

The basic and most intrinsic proposition underlying the examination of social identity, is that the world is perceived in categories, which are socially embedded. Assumed by many social scientists as a human veracity, a theory on social identity emerged from empirical experiments. The leading figure in experiments on social identity was Henri Tajfel, whose preliminary experiments led to the development of

the Social Identity Theory (SIT). During his experiments, he studied small groups in order to examine how, even in an experimental situation, participants who did not know each other, or did not have a common history, formed a bond with the rest of the group under the stimulus of intergroup categorisation. Essentially, the intention of the research was to prove that individuals are naturally bound to categorise the social environment along a binary scale of categories, *i.e.*, those who are similar to *us* and those who are not, hereafter, classified as *them*. Following the results of these experiments, Tajfel was convinced that every person divides his or her world into distinct classes or social categories (Tajfel, 1970, Tajfel, *et al.*, 1971). However, fundamental to Tajfel's SIT was that humans not only read the social stimuli in social categories, but that the manner of schematising the social environment was a result of four intertwined processes: *social categorisation*; *social identity*; *social comparison*, and, *social differentiation*.

### ***2.1.3 The Formation of Social Identity: Social Categorisation, Social Identity, Social Comparison and Social Differentiation***

As previously mentioned, the central assumption of Tajfel's theory is that every individual divides his or her world into divergent social categories. Nonetheless, the social construction of a social identity demands, to some extent, the presence of interwoven moments or processes. I shall start with the first one, *social categorisation*.

Clearly, from SIT, a person's social identity is developed from his/her awareness of diverse elements of identification within his/her personal environment. Some of these elements are broad, for instance, class, race, religion, ethnicity, gender, but, other



components may be smaller, more localised, transient and idiosyncratic, such as hobby groups, minor political groups, *etc.* Therefore, according to the evidences a person perceives, he/she will tend to identify him/herself with some elements and reject others. For example, if she is a female, she will not identify herself with a male. Or, if he perceives himself as being a white person, certainly, he will not see himself as a black person. From these illustrative cases comprising individuals' daily lives, it can be seen that the individual delineates the world by selecting one category within an array of identifications and rejecting others: those who are females, and those who are not; those who are black, and those who are not; those who are students and those who are not. In other words, social categorisation emerges when the individual starts to locate him/herself within a system of social categories and, subsequently, to observe the environment as a binary universe represented by *us* (the in-group) and *them* (the out-group).

One other assumption basic to Tajfel's theory is that individuals commonly strive for a positive sense of their *social identity*. In this regard, Augoustinos and Walker (1995) have emphasised the fact that "*a powerful and perhaps universal motive is the motive to think well of oneself, to have a positive evaluation of identity, to have a positive self-esteem*" (1995: 109). Undoubtedly, in accordance with Social Identity Theory, individuals are committed to a constant search for a positive social identity. However, it is also true that it is only through *social comparison* that individuals can maintain an ongoing positive sense of their identity. Membership of any particular social category can only be informed of its positive value by drawing upon social comparison between the group to whom the individuals belong and other groups relevant to this process – called the *reference group*. The motive underlying all

social comparisons, according to Festinger (1954), is the desire to have an accurate self-evaluation. The Social Identity Theory also sheds light on groups' aspiration for a psychological distinctiveness – usually thought of as *social differentiation*.

Regarding this latter process, psychological distinctiveness should be regarded as an important process of social comparison, vital to the development and clarification of one's social identity. Basically, by the act of social differentiation, the individual identifies those who are similar to him/herself, and creates boundaries that eventually give the individual the sense of belonging to a group with cultural 'likeness' to him/herself.

#### **2.1.4 Definition of Group and Culture**

The concept of group has been used in many different ways, but it commonly refers to a plurality of individuals bounded by some principle of recruitment and by a set of membership rights and obligations. Merton and Kitt (1950) defined this term 'group' along two distinct levels of analysis: the *reference group* level is related to a collection of people with whom one identifies, and a *social category* level, defined as a collection of individuals with socially shared features, such as age, sex, occupation, religious belief, common ancestry, etc. In addition to these specific levels, further categorisation can be made depending on the nature of the interaction between its members: the *primary group* whose members interact face-to-face (for example, family, friends); the *secondary group*, referring to all people who do not necessarily interface directly and personally with one another (for example, occupational or political groups).



Tajfel and Turner (1986) have conceptualised this term as follows: “*we can conceptualise a group ... as a collection of individuals who perceive themselves to be members of the same social category, share some emotional involvement in this common definition of themselves, and achieve some degree of social consensus about the evaluation of their group and of their membership*” (1986: 15). However, the notion of group reaches its most significant position when connected with one other vitally important concept, that of culture.

Conventionally, culture is defined as encapsulating patterns of thought and behaviour, including values, beliefs, rules of conduct, political organisation, economic activity and traditions prevailing within societies. Firth (1871, quoted in Cashmore, 1996: 91), described culture as “*that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of a society. If ...society is taken to be an organised set of individuals with a given way of life, culture is that way of life. If society is taken to be an aggregate of social relations, then culture is the content of those relations. Society emphasizes the human component, the aggregate of people and the relations between them. Culture emphasizes the component of accumulated resources, immaterial as well as material*”.

Although the notions of group and culture were briefly outlined, the intention underlying its conceptualisation was not meant to develop into a broad literature review of these concepts, but rather to shed light on its participation in the complex process of acculturation. Fundamentally, the exposition of the concepts was undertaken to move the argument towards the acculturative theory that immigrants

should be thought of as individuals sharing a common culture, psychologically believing in their sameness and unity in terms of social identities and, oriented to the maintenance of a positive social identity.



## 2.2 Part Two

### 2.2.1 *Acculturation and Other Related Definitions*

According to Herskovitz et al. (1936), acculturation embraces “*those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups ... acculturation is to be distinguished from culture change, of which it is but one aspect, and assimilation, which is at times a phase of acculturation*” (1936: 149-152).

In an attempt to define the term acculturation, Berry asked: “*what happens to individuals, who have developed in one cultural context, when they attempt to live in a new cultural context? If, culture is such a powerful shaper of behaviour, do individuals continue to act in the new setting as they did in the previous one? Do they change their behavioural repertoire to be more appropriate in the new setting?*” (Berry, 1997: 6).

Considering these two definitions, acculturation can be viewed from two perspectives: on the one hand, acculturation may induce more change in one of the groups, either in the host group (the receiving society), or in the immigrant group. Discussing acculturation in these terms, suggests that it is merely an additive process, that cultural elements are added or taken away either from the host group, or the immigrant one. On the other hand, acculturation is by no means a static process, on the contrary, as asserted by the Social Science Research Council: “*acculturation is ...*

*neither a passive nor a colorless absorption. It is a culture-producing as well as a culture-receiving process. Acculturation ... is essentially creative"* (1954: 985).

While originally considered a group-level phenomena, it is now widely recognised that acculturation also encompasses an individual-level process, commonly termed psychological acculturation.

Basically, a conceptual distinction between acculturation as a collective phenomena and a psychological one has been made by Graves (1967). In his article entitled '*Psychological acculturation in a tri- ethnic community*', Graves asserted that the psychological aspect occurring during the process of acculturation has been relatively neglected, although there was some pioneering work done in this area (see, for instance, Thompson, 1948; Vogt, 1951; Caudill and Scarr, 1962). According to Graves, group-level acculturation refers to a *whole group's* social and economic modifications resulting from its contact with a new culture. In contrast, individual-level acculturation, is defined as being psychological alterations, they could be physical, biological, cultural, and/or behavioural adjustments. Research on acculturation has revealed the relevance of this distinction between these two levels. Empirical findings have shown that one level may be affected by change to a greater extent than the other (Berry, 1970; Furnham and Bochner, 1986). For instance, an individual may be highly acculturated, whereas the group he or she belongs to may not be acculturated at all. The reverse may also be true (Liu, 2000).

### **2.2.2 *Adaptation and Varities of Adaptation***

The term adaptation is the term used to refer to the strategies used during acculturation, and to its outcome (Berry, 1992). In its broad sense, adaptation refers

to changes that take place in individuals' and groups' lives regarding their responses to the host society's demands. The process of adaptation of the cultural attributes of both immigrant and host groups may develop in diverse ways depending on a range of factors, which may be sociological, economic or political. Essentially, three modes of adaptation can be identified: *adjustment*, *reaction*, and *withdrawal*, and they can be defined as follows (Berry, 1976): in the case of adjustment, the immigrant group changes its mode of behaviour in an attempt to reduce the conflict with its environment, in order to bring harmony into the adaptive arena. Whereas in the reaction mode of adaptation, behavioural changes occur to retaliate against the environment. Finally, the withdrawal option, refers to a removal of the immigrant group from the adaptive scene. With reference to the last option, Berry (1976) observed that the third mode is often not a real possibility, due to physical-environmental pressures on those individuals or groups living at a subsistence level, and due to acculturation constraints on those influenced by larger and more powerful cultural systems.

#### *2.2.2.1 Psychological and Sociological Adaptation*

The psychological approach to acculturation has advanced parallel terms to the above varieties of adaptation: *moving with or toward*; *moving against*; and, *moving away* from the new setting environment. In fact, recent literature on psychological adaptation has drawn a conceptual separation between *psychological* and *sociological adaptation* (Searle and Ward, 1990).



The first refers to a set of psychological adaptations arising from the acculturation process and includes personal and cultural identity and mental health modifications, and it also includes the achievement of personal satisfaction within the new cultural environment. Specifically, the latter issue of personal satisfaction has captured the attention of many researchers. The topic of the individual's achievement orientation is considered to be one of the most important factors to influence the acculturation process. See, for instance, the work of McClelland (1961), and McClelland and Winter, (1969), as an illustration of the advances in theoretical and empirical knowledge in this area. Other psychological approaches also considered as relevant are the global personality approach (Hallowell, 1955; Mead, 1956a, 1956b; Beaglehole, 1957); the specific trait approach (Hagen 1962); the perceptual-cognitive approach (Berry and Dasen, 1974; Cole and Scribner, 1974); the classical learning approach (Hallowell, 1955) and, the operating learning approach (Guthrie, 1970).

On the subject of mental health, Berry (1971) proposed the term *acculturative stress*, which he defines as an emergent consequence of the acculturative arena. Fundamentally, the term acculturative stress is a phenomena arising during acculturation, related to the length of time a person has been exposed to acculturative variations. Acculturative stress was extensively measured by Berry and colleagues, and they showed that it was an important variable arising from demographic and societal factors which had an impact on individuals' lives during the acculturative process (see, Berry, *et al.*, 1987; Berry, *et al.*, 1992; and more recently, Tonks, *et al.*, 1999). In sum, acculturative stress has been defined as “*a particular set of stress behaviours ... lowered mental health status (especially anxiety, depression), feelings*

*of marginality and alienation, heightened psychosomatic symptom level, and identity confusion” (Berry et al., 1992: 284).*

In contrast, the sociological adaptation relates to the interactive capacity that individuals possess to deal with areas such as family life, work and daily problems. The most common acculturative mode stemming from this classification has been identified as economic adaptation (Ayman and Berry, 1995), representing a variable that depicts the degree to which work is satisfying and effective in a new host culture.

Although the reported notions of adaptation and approaches can be helpful to a comprehensive understanding of the variables involved within an acculturation process, they fail to characterise the factors that are at stake. Clearly, it is important to bear in mind both psychological and sociological acculturative developments, however, a cross-cultural study demands the incorporation of these notions into a theoretical model in which they can be easily worked and discussed. The purpose of this research project is to comprehend and examine Mozambican immigrants’ strategies of acculturation and narratives of identity within two receiving societies, therefore, it is necessary to produce a theoretical model that would represent a matrix for a better understanding of these immigrants’ acculturative responses to the new cultural settings.

### ***2.2.3 The Model of Acculturation Strategies***

An attempt to systematise the process of acculturation and to illustrate the main circumstances that affect an immigrant group and individuals’ modes of adaptation



was developed by Berry (1980; Berry *et al.*, 1992, Berry *et al.*, 1996). In this respect, the literature on acculturation identified four key pieces of the acculturative mosaic. They are: *the nature of the host society; the nature of the acculturating group; the acculturative achievements pursued by the acculturating group* and, finally, *the sociocultural features of the acculturating group*.

The first level of analysis, refers to the sociocultural and economic structures of the receiving society. As pointed out by Berry and Kalin (1995), some societies are defined as having a multicultural ideology, which enhances tolerance for cultural diversity. However, other societies seek a more assimilationist policy of immigration, where immigrant groups are expected and encouraged to conform to the prevailing cultural standard of the receiving society (Murphy, 1965).

The second moderating circumstance is related to the cultural background of the immigrant group prior to immigration. Essentially, Berry and Kim (1987) have suggested four existing types of immigrants characterised by their degree of voluntariness, movement and permanence of contact:

<b>VOLUNTARINESS</b>	Voluntary	Involuntary
<b>GROUP</b>	Ethnic Groups  Immigrants  (relatively permanent)  Sojourners  (temporary)	Native Peoples  Refugees

Figure 1 - Voluntariness of Contact



The third circumstance is connected with the modes of acculturation the immigrant group and individuals wish to achieve. This factor will be discussed in Chapter 6 in detail. The fourth level, corresponds with the intrinsic characteristics of the acculturating group, such as age, gender, previous intercultural and contact experiences, education and *achievement orientation*. Fundamentally, the effort to articulate these aforementioned factors into a theoretical framework has led Berry to pose two enquiries:

- 1) *‘is it considered to be of value to maintain cultural identity and characteristics?’*
- 2) *‘is it considered to be of value to maintain relationships with other groups?’.*

By answering ‘yes’ or ‘no’ to these questions, an individual or a group can be placed within one of four types of acculturation strategies. They are: *Assimilation; Integration; Separation* and *Marginalisation* (Berry *et al.*, 1996). The model resulted as follows:

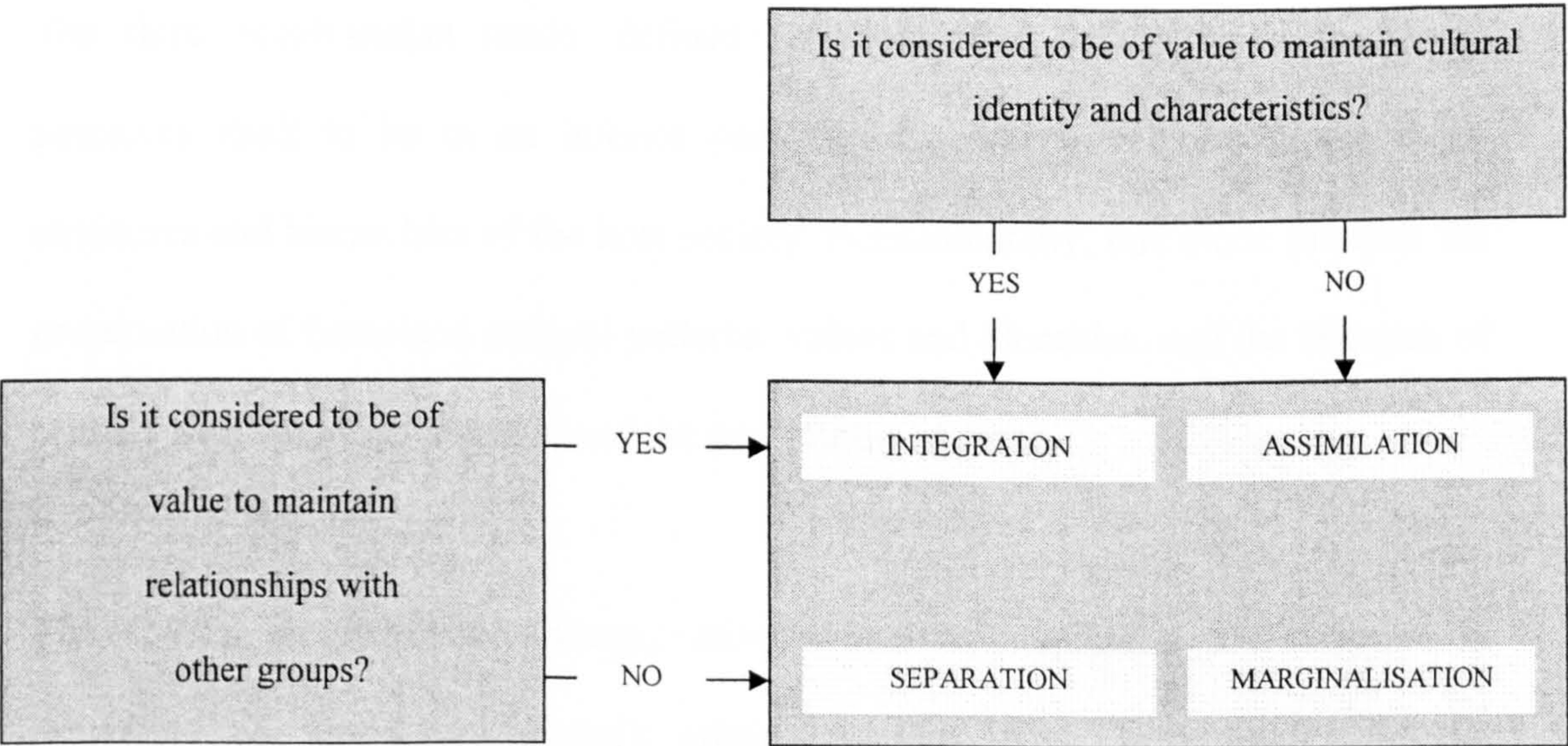


Figure 2 - Four Acculturation Strategies as a Function of Two Issues



The acculturative attitude *Assimilation* occurs when the first question is answered 'no' and the second one is answered 'yes'. Assimilation refers to the classic 'melting-pot' outcome of acculturation whereby groups and individuals forego the maintenance of their traditional cultural heritages and take on the cultural ways of the host society.

Following *Figure 2*, the individual or the immigrant group is said to have an *Integrative Strategy* when either the person or the group has adopted identifications with traditions and values of the two societies. This occurs, when the cultural maintenance of the group and individual's cultural identity, as well as, the contact with the receiving society is not perceived as a threat. In this sense, it is expected that the individual and the group will commit themselves to activities of both cultures, often synthesising them into a novel style of living. As observed by Berry (1984, 1997), this style of living is most desired and achieved in multicultural societies.

The third acculturation mode, defined as *Separation*, occurs when the group perceives itself to be in an inferior position of power in relation to the social structures and hierarchies of the host society. Fundamentally, this mode involves the preservation of homeland cultural patterns, values and identities, and the rejection of contact with the social standards of the new cultural setting.

The fourth acculturative strategy, *Marginalisation*, depicts a low interest in protecting the immigrant group's original culture. Also, little interest of the immigrant individual or group in interacting in a new societal context, usually due to



racist and discriminatory attitudes of the new environment. Lately, Tonks (1998 *et al.*, 1999) revised this acculturative assumption, by refuting Berry's view in regard to overlapping terms of marginalisation and deculturation. Accordingly, Tonks (1999) has presented a new conceptualisation of the latter term, arguing that deculturation is a concept that embraces a loss of concern with the group's ethnicity and culture, whereas marginalisation is more related to feelings of alienation, identity confusion and anxiety, which has been termed acculturative stress (*cf.* Berry *et al.*, 1992).

#### *2.2.3.1 Acculturation Framework and Empirical Evidence*

Empirical evidence has proved the relevance of this model to the understanding of the multifaceted process of acculturation. Regarding the nature of the acculturating group, Berry *et al.* (1987) suggested that involuntary groups, for instance, native peoples and refugees are expected to find more acculturative obstacles due to the impermanent character of their contact with and participation within the host society. Accordingly, the authors have asserted that this acculturative status will generate high levels of acculturative stress, whereas voluntary groups, such as immigrants and ethnic groups, are expected to experience a low level of acculturative difficulties, as well as, less acculturative anxiety and stress. Furthermore, Berry *et al.* (1987) have also observed that sojourners, defined in their sample as students and those whose permanence and contact with the new cultural setting is temporary, are said to create and establish supportive networks among themselves, depending upon the length of their study.

One other mediating factor employed to measure acculturative attitudes is the cultural distance between both host and homeland societies. In other terms, this variable incorporates the similarities and dissimilarities existing between the homeland cultural and the receiving cultural settings, such as language, religions, cultural traditions. In this respect, Minde (1985) in his study on *Foreign student adaptation*, has found that the similarity of the Canadian climate to that of the immigrants' homeland has allowed the acculturating group a much easier acculturative process, consequently preventing these immigrants from sensing acculturative stress. In addition, in his study, Minde (1985) also examined the differences between stress levels and acculturative skills in relation to the individuals' country of origin. He observed that in Canada, students from the United States of America are reported to have a low level of stress in contrast to those coming from India, Africa, South America and Hong Kong.

Gender, also, has been reported as playing an important role during the acculturative process. Substantial research has revealed that females are more at risk than males, because of their educational and cultural background (Beiser *et al.*, 1988; Carballo, 1994). As has been suggested by some researchers (Moghaddam *et al.*, 1990; Naidoo, 1992; Naidoo and Davis, 1988), the acculturative modes are likely to be dependent on the status females receive and the differential treatment they have either in the country of origin or in the new receiving society.

The level of education of the immigrant individual and group represents another important variable in acculturation. As pointed out by Lazarus and Folkman (1984), those individuals and groups with more education are expected to assemble more

resources, be they intellectual, economic or social, to deal with the new environmental structures. Both authors have assumed that educational skills allow the individual and the group to perceive acculturation experiences as challenges, or even as new opportunities rather than social and cultural hindrances.

The literature and research in the acculturation domain and articulated factors is immense. The exposition of the empirical evidence above shows how research is being conducted and, how this model of acculturation strategies might be useful for the purposes of this study. In spite of this assumption, some criticisms ought to be advanced.

#### *2.2.3.2 The Model of Acculturation Strategies: Advantages and Disadvantages*

Berry's typology (1980) organises immigrant individuals' and groups' acculturative attitudes into a scheme of acculturation and relates it to the mediating factors affecting this process. However, a critical reading of this typology reveals at least three theoretical deficiencies.

First, Berry's model tends to assume that there is a static acculturation strategy when immigrant individuals and groups come into contact with, or participate within the new receiving society.

A second criticism refers to the empirical evidence that this model disregards the possibility that individuals and groups may, in time, change from one acculturative process to another, or be engaged into a dynamic transit of acculturative strategies. In

fact, previous research findings do not even discuss this hypothesis. In this respect, recent research drew attention to empirical results that show evidence of combined acculturative attitudes. For instance, a research study on second generation African youth, undertaken in Lisbon (e.g., Khan and Vala, 1999), reported that individuals were pushed towards an acculturative commitment either to Portuguese society or to families and friends and, thus they were forced to adopt combined acculturative attitudes. In this case, the data revealed the existence of three articulated acculturative modes: *integration towards separation*; *separation towards integration* and, finally, *marginalisation towards separation*.

Portes and Zhou (1993) have also presented interesting results from their study about second generation immigrants and their adaptation to American society. Both authors concluded that in seeking adaptation to American society, second generation immigrants were impelled to engage in a *segmented acculturation*. In this study, the concept of segmented acculturation is presented to “*describe the diverse possible outcomes of this process of adaptation*” (Portes and Zhou, 1993: 74). Moreover, Portes and Zhou (1993) have specifically identified that second generation Haitian children, in Miami, found themselves torn between conflicting ideas and values, belonging neither to the host society nor to the country of origin. Fundamentally, both authors have noticed that, in order to remain Haitian these students were forced to face social ostracism and continuing attacks in school; whereas, to become American they were expected to forsake their family’s traditional values and ethnic solidarity. Basically, the dilemma these second generation Haitians faced can be explained by the expression of ‘*being between cultures*’.



One another study encapsulated this acculturative problem. In an ethnographic study about Punjabi Sikh students in a northern California community, Gibson (1989) described that Punjabi Sikh students had to repeatedly confront obstacles in their assimilating process. According to the author, Punjabi parents pressured their children to avoid as much contact as possible with their white peers, who were perceived by the Punjabi families as disturbing company, and as a threat to their children's maintenance of Punjabi Sikh culture and traditions.

Ultimately, the last theoretical deficiency in the model of acculturation strategies, is the effective absence of a consistent connection between acculturation modes and identity. Essentially, this model overlooks how individuals and immigrant groups perceive their identity on the acculturative mosaic. If individuals and groups are prompted to opt for an acculturative mode in relation to the host society, what are the consequences of this on their identities? Or, conversely, should it be assumed that it is the individuals and immigrants' identities that inform the adoption of a specific acculturative strategy? As a result of an absence of theoretical and empirical support at this level, I shall assume the identity strategies proposed by the Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1978). In addition, an articulation between both model and theory will be created, in order to present the theoretical framework chosen as more suitable for this research project.

#### *2.2.3.3 Social Identity Theory: Identity Strategies*

As previously stated, a fundamental assumption of Tajfel's Social Identity Theory is that individuals and groups constantly strive for a positive sense of their social

identity. Thus, incorporating the reality of immigration and the immigration process into this study, it is expected that immigrant individuals and groups will get involved in the project of maintaining a positive sense of their identity, and will pursue the dimensions attached to it. The development of this theoretical belief has prompted Tajfel (1978) to build a scheme which may be called a typology of identity strategies. The theory has indicated three main identity modes or strategies: *social change*; *social creativity* and *social mobility*.

Social change refers to the case when the group and its members attempt to change the structure of the group, within the social structures of the receiving society.

Social creativity is related to those situations when the group and its individuals seek a new dimension of comparison between them and the host society and, by which they intend to enhance a positive sense of their social identity. In relation to this identity mode, Tajfel (1978) proposed a sub-typology by describing three social creativity directions which groups and individuals might foster. The first emerges when the groups are engaged in the redefinition of their own identity and dimensions. Tajfel (1978) referred to this situation by taking as an example the Black movement during the 1960s, when Black individuals were attempting to reverse the negative connotations associated with the fact of being Black – “dark”, “dirty”, “dumb”, “nigger” – into the slogan ‘*Black is beautiful*’. In fact, according to Tajfel, this case depicted a great investment of social creativity by the group in order to achieve an acceptable psychological distinctiveness. Basically, following this theory, groups are not expected to change their social status within the prevalent system of values, whereas, in reality, groups are said to change the inside values of the group

by the rebuilding from unfavourable stigmas, normally spread around within the host society, into positive connotations.

The second sub-type of social creativity occurs when the group maintains the will to rediscover its original cultural background, in terms of traditions, rituals, myths, values, historical facts and special attributes, in order to reach a sense of historicity attached to its social identity.

The third sub-type of social creativity emerges when the group is not capable of finding its own historical background and, therefore, aims to create new characteristics for the group and its members. The incorporation of original features is believed to provide the group with psychological distinctiveness and to consolidate a positive sense of its social identity.

The final type of identity strategies, social mobility, generally refers to a case when the individual leaves the group. Normally, this situation arises when the group and its members perceive that they can only rely upon the wider community's norms, values and social representations. This might happen, at one extreme, when the group comes to terms with its inability to create and maintain a social identity anchored to its own norms, values and representations. In this case, the group is likely to be assimilated by the majority group, *i.e.*, the receiving society.

At this point, it is possible to present the theoretical framework (*figure 3*):



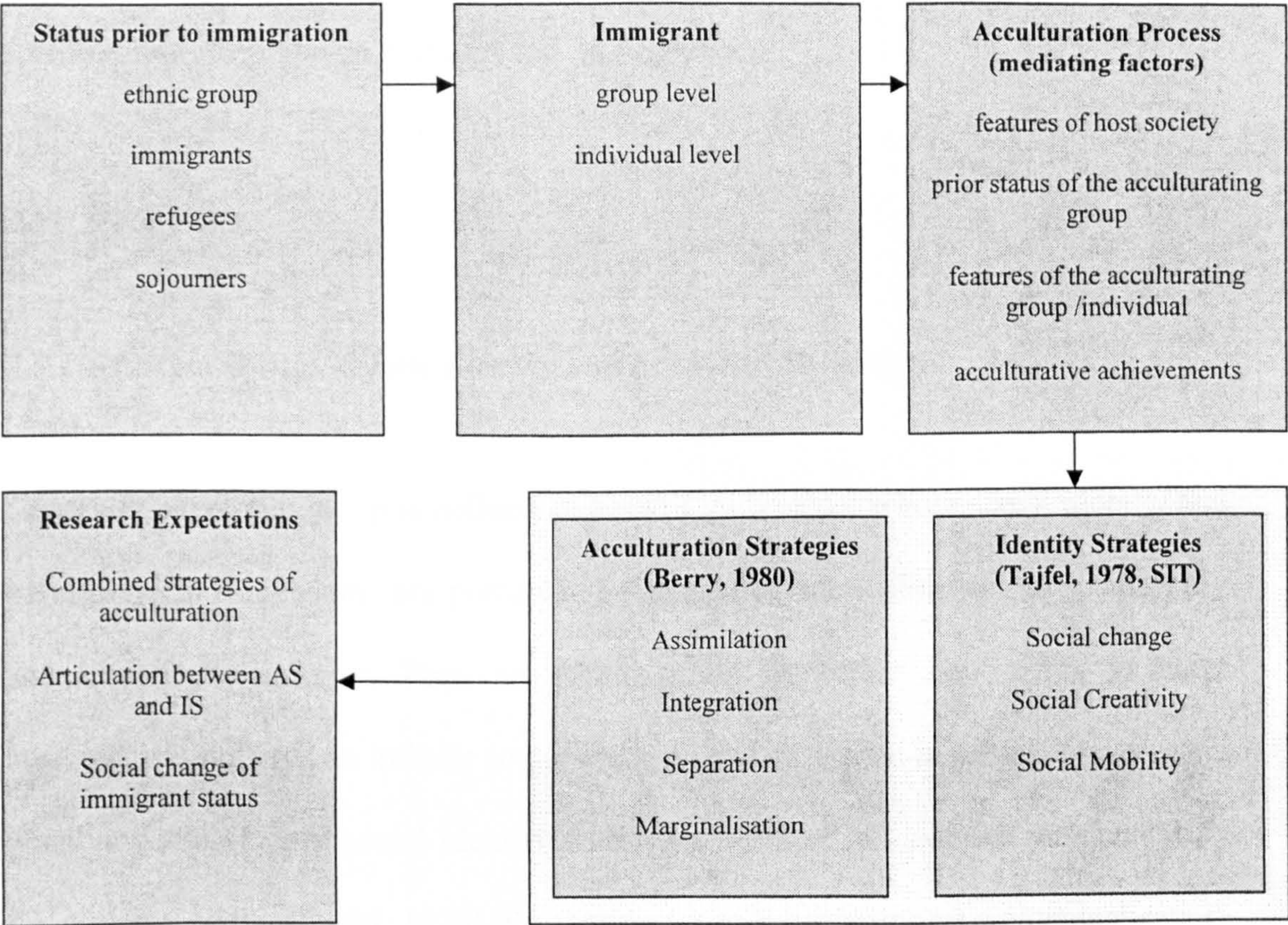


Figure 3 - Research Theoretical Model

The preceding notions and theoretical model (Berry, 1980) have been useful to the construction of the underlying research expectations. However, a substantial part of the literature is still missing, regarding the research hypotheses: African Mozambican immigrants are not an ethnic group; ethnicity is a term that has to be thought of as disassociated from the notions of ethnic group and ethnic identity; and, finally the notions of ethnic group, ethnic identity and ethnicity are socially constructed. These assertions have emerged from research concerning the ideas, debates and theoretical pools on the notions of ethnic group, ethnic identity and ethnicity. Essentially, the aim associated with this particular research is, now, connected with the enquiry into whether the previous hypotheses are likely to be confirmed or not, when the



literature is confronted with the assembled data and analysis from the research about African Mozambican immigrants' narratives of immigration and identity, and acculturation strategies in Portugal and in England.

## **2.3 Part Three**

### ***2.3.1 Ethnic Group, Ethnic Identity and Ethnicity Definitions***

Generally, an ethnic group is defined as a set of individuals whose social identity and psychological dimensions are perceived by the dominant society as being culturally and historically inferior. Plus, an ethnic group definition also refers to those individuals who have an inferior social identity, and who seek to preserve or create a positive sense of their social identity within a system of inequalities maintained by the majority group (Tajfel, 1978). Presenting a similar view to this conceptualisation, Chun (1983, quoted in Hutnik, 1991), has defined an ethnic group as a collection of individuals continuously struggling for a positive identity. According to the author, there are two levels at which one has to approach the notion of ethnic group. On the one hand, the feeling individuals have of belonging to a common culture, united by the experience of similar historical background, values, norms and rituals; on the other hand, the clear notion individuals have that the social inequalities they are subjected to, derive from the pejorative representations and social image the majority society built on the cultural idiosyncrasy of the immigrant group. Clinging to this analysis, Hutnik (1991) argued that some social and political systems seek strongly to sustain these inequalities as socially legitimate, citing South Africa as a clear demonstration of this reality. For instance, Cashmore (1996), advocated the idea that the definition of an ethnic group entails the feeling of relative deprivation, a

sentiment of being materially deprived, of being politically neutered, and culturally denuded by factors external to the group.

Against these definitions, there are those who believe that the emergence of an ethnic group can be explained from the perspective that groups develop cohesion as an outcome of a self-labelling process, and also as a social labelling attribution (Barth, 1969; Nagel, 1994, 1997; Trevor-Roper, 1983; Smith, 1986; Kelly, 1993; Chapman, 1979; Prebble, 1963). According to Barth (1969), an ethnic group is meant to encompass “*categories of ascription and identification by actors themselves*” (1969: 10). Taking the same position, Nagel (1997) has characterised an ethnic group “*as a community of people who see themselves as descended from common ancestors and whom others consider part of a distinct community*” (1997: 9). Basically, what differentiates these definitions from the above seems to be related to the option of considering individuals as not passive and constrained by their historical background. It rather views individuals as descending from a common culture, but having the ability to redefine themselves with the idea of being socially distinct. Therefore, as argued by Barth (1969), an ethnic group is, above all, a case of self-identification process mediated by the pressures stemming from the social environment.

How ethnic identity and ethnicity are forged? In accordance with the preceding definitions, contrasting views may structure the formation of ethnic identity and ethnicity. For instance, Tajfel (1978) stated that ethnic identity can be associated with those groups who display an inferior social identity regarding their primordial background and the social features attached to it. This negative aspect of social identity becomes evident when the groups compare themselves with the social

system of the dominant society. Consequently, when groups understand that they do not possess enough social and cultural resources to protect their identity in relation to the social inequalities prevailing within the host society, it is said that ethnicity crystalizes. Following this argument, ethnicity is understood as representing a 'weapon' ethnic groups employ to preserve their social identity and maintain a sense of cultural and psychological distinction. Empirical evidence stemming from recent investigation on ethnic groups (Bastos and Bastos, 1999) has revealed that ethnicity assumes a symbol, a means that ethnic groups use to strengthen their social identity. In addition, both authors (Bastos and Bastos, 1999) have noticed that the protection of the group's social identity entails, on the one hand, a process of social exploration of the group's idiosyncratic characteristics, such as gastronomy, homeland local dialects, music, clothes, dance, religion, rituals, values and ideals (*e.g.*, Khan and Vala, 1999), and, on the other hand, the demarcation of cultural frontiers in relation to the dominant society. In this respect, Devereux and Loebbb (1943) advanced the term *antagonist acculturation*, which refers to a group's effort to fight against a cultural menace of the dissolution of its own culture into the dominant society, in particular in those societies that have opted for an assimilationist policy of immigration.

Diversely, other authors are opposed to this position of regarding the notions of ethnic identity and ethnicity as being linked to the idea that ethnic groups are primordially created by historical facts. In other words, they have advocated that neither ethnic groups, ethnic identity nor ethnicity are intrinsic components of groups and its members, but rather a logic outcome of social and cultural interaction between groups. Of course, this theoretical perspective does not ignore the fact that

groups and individuals do share a sense of similarity, but this cannot represent an excuse to build social categories on the assumption that identities are socially fixed and unchangeable (Hechter, 1975, 1978, 1986a, 1986b; Horowitz, 1975, Yancey *et al.*, 1976; Rothschild, 1981).

In fact, the question of whether ethnic group, ethnic identity and ethnicity are primordial or an outcome of social interactions amongst groups, has generated the so-called debate between primordialists and circumstantialists. This discussion has focused significant attention on the notion of ethnicity.

### ***2.3.2 Ethnicity: The Debate Between Primordialists and Circumstantialists***

It has been widely recognised that social scientists have attempted to explain ethnic group solidarity and ethnicity, either on the grounds of primordial heritage (the primordialist perspective), or on the grounds of social circumstances (the circumstantialist perspective). As argued by Scott (1990) “*the phenomenon of ethnicity has become an increasingly interesting topic both theoretically and practically in the contemporary world*” (Scott, 1990: 147). For example, Ronald Cohen (1978) has claimed that the term ethnicity represents a shift towards new theoretical and empirical concerns. Therefore, according to the author, ethnicity signals a change that should be understood from several historical, theoretical and ideological angles. Fundamentally, two major perspectives on the subject of ethnicity have come to the fore.

The primordialist perspective has asserted that the existence of strong ethnic attachments are deeply intertwined with the group’s sense of historical commonality



and heritage. Hence, this perspective regards the ethnic actors as bound together by sharing images of its distinctive past, perceptions of common ancestry, kinship, shared language, history and myths of origin (Shils, 1957; Geertz, 1963; Isaacs, 1975; Stack, 1986; Grosby, 1994; Novack, 1972; Gambino, 1974; Greeley, 1974). Thus, according to this tradition, what motivates the behaviour of ethnic actors is not some calculation of personal interests (*cf.* Barth, 1969), but rather, the history that binds individuals and gives them a historical and collective dimension on each individual's destiny. Cohen's (1999) description of the primordialist goes like this: "*I would accept that primordialism does not work well as an explanation of ethnic difference, but it certainly works as a description of the extraordinary force that is contained in ethnic sentiment. For many people, ethnic ties are a matter of loyalty, of pride, of location, of belonging, of refuge, of identity, trust, acceptance and security*" (Cohen, 1999:5). Admitting the invincible vigour of these bonds, Allahar (1995, quoted in Cohen, 1999), has suggested that they are, undoubtedly, real expressions of a profound affinity and devotion, sentiments that intensely portray the faith that groups and individuals have that their survival is dependent upon forces bigger than each single individual. In fact, as has been documented by Scott (1990) "*not long ago the prevailing view of both social theorists and government officials was that, given the proper incentives, the various ethnic minority groups of a given nation would all eventually assimilate, or 'melt' into the socio-economic mainstream of the dominant group. Ethnicity, they believed, would thus become increasingly erased world-wide as lines of communication improved and economies modernised. Ethnic identities, then, would be replaced by national identities. But the reality of the situation has failed to match the assumptions and theories. Rather than having become diminished, ethnicity is more salient than ever .... Indeed, ethnicity*

*...continues to be an important and meaningful source of identity for millions of people in the world'* (Scott, 1990: 147-48).

A divergent standpoint has adopted a view in which an ethnic group's solidarity, loyalty and vassalage are a result of social circumstances, both external and internal, and under which the group and its members redefine their identity positioning. It has been argued that after the publication of Barth's (1969) *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, the circumstantialist school of ethnicity was born (Gil-White, 1999). According to Barth (1969), ethnic actors are rational individuals who make choices about their identification and positioning in relation to the available range of categories, such as ecological, economic, political and cultural. Moreover, the author has also defined ethnicity as a phenomenon that *per se* is mutable, because it springs from interactive process of social ascription: a kind of social labelling process prompted by individuals and groups in interaction. Therefore, following this theory, one's ethnic identity is a combination of the view one has about oneself, as well as, the views held by others regarding one's identity (see, McBeth, 1989; Cornell, 1988; Pedraza, 1992; Padilla, 1985; Espiritu, 1992; Waters, 1991; Keith and Herring, 1991). For example, in her book on Natives Indians in America , Nagel (1997), illustrated this circumstantial approach regarding the belief that ethnicity is socially constructed. In her book she came to the conclusion that Native American ethnicity is historically based, however “ *Indian ethnic boundaries and identities are continually socially constructed and negotiated. It is important to note that for both traditional and emergent Indian communities, the work of social and cultural survival represents an ongoing challenge. No matter how deeply rooted in tradition, Indian ethnicity, like all culture and identities, must be sustained and strengthened'*

(Nagel, 1997: 9). Basically, these arguments about ethnic identity and group, and ethnicity have galvanised the development of a constructionist model of ethnicity, sometimes referred to as ‘instrumental’, or ‘emergent’, and which lays emphasis on the fluid, situational, volitional and dynamic character of ethnic formation, identification and organisation.

In spite of theoretical debate between circumstantialists and primordialists, there has been a theoretical effort to bring together these two stances. Scott (1990) suggested that apparently “*these two approaches have been treated as if mutually exclusive: if ethnic attachments are primordial, they cannot be circumstantial; if they are circumstantial, they cannot be primordial*” ( 1990: 149), instead “*there have been a few attempts to combine the primordial and the circumstantial approaches, recognising that while they are each necessary to explain completely why ethnic solidarity exists, neither of them alone is sufficient as such as an explanation: a sufficient explanation, in other words, must include both approaches*” (1990: 149) (see, Yinger, 1981; McKay, 1982).

Even though the aforementioned debate has thrown some light on the notions of ethnic group, ethnic identity and ethnicity, both have failed to elucidate the concept of ethnicity. In other terms, neither perspective has taken into consideration the variables that are at stake when debating the formation of ethnicity. As regarded by Eller *et al.* (1993) “*what is required, then, instead of some mystical appeal to natural primordial instincts ...or even instead of the appeals of circumstantialists to specific events which mobilize ethnic activities, is a real ethnography of ethnic socialization – the practices that invent, modify, and perpetuate ethnic phenomena*” (1993: 198).



Considering this argument, and on the grounds of the research hypotheses that ethnicity is a notion that might be thought of as detached from the concepts of ethnic group and identity, the theoretical attempts to systematise the components of ethnicity will be looked at.

### **2.3.3 *Ethnicity as a Cultural Phenomenon***

As Cohen states (1996) ethnicity is “*an ubiquitous phenomenon in both developing and developed countries .... Because of its ubiquity, variety of form, scope, and intensity, and of its involvement in psychic, social, and historical variables, ethnicity has been defined in a variety of ways, depending on the discipline, field experience, and interests of the investigators*” (1996: 370). In fact, Cohen’s conceptualisation of the term can be theoretically illustrated through a diverse range of approaches, normally coined as the cultural approach to ethnicity. Regarding this specific angle, three perspectives are likely to be identified. The first one, has been represented by the earliest and most influential schools of thought, the former Rhodes Livingstone Institute, and whose leading figures were Epstein (1958) and Gluckman (1961). In accordance with this school of thought, ethnicity is a result of a group’s effort to redefine its own cultural symbols when confronted with situations that are seen as putting the group’s social identity at risk. The underlying assumption refers to the group’s concern to create cultural meanings and frontiers (see, Cohen, 1996: 337), in order to reinforce its identity positioning and distinctiveness. Fundamentally, ethnicity is reported to be a consequence of cultural and social interactions among groups, and to reflect a situational need which groups perceive as relevant for the protection of its cohesion and cultural survival (*cf.*, primordialist approach to ethnicity).

The second stance on ethnicity, has attempted to explain the occurrence of the term, by placing it into the psychological and historical structures of the group. In this respect, ethnicity is said to be a basic motivation that groups have for maintaining a positive sense of their social identity. Clearly, this assertion falls within Tajfel's theory (1978), that social identity encompasses the groups' endeavour to preserve a certain sense of positiveness attached to their social identity.

Ultimately, the third approach postulates ethnicity to be associated with the process of migration, and represented as an emerging outcome of the groups' and individuals' modes of adaptation to the new cultural setting. In sum, ethnicity is regarded as being a chronological narrative of migration and adaptation realities.

#### ***2.3.4 Ethnicity and Power Relations – The Minority Status of a Group***

Once again, as Cohen (1996) reminded as: "*there is ethnicity and ethnicity*" (1996: 375). Effectively, ethnicity has been also defined as a consequence arising from situations and experiences of social deprivations that groups and its individuals are said to face within the dominant receiving society. Regarding the above statement, historical and sociological evidence is not scarce. For instance, taking into consideration the political developments which occurred before and after the Portuguese decolonisation process of its former African colonies (see Newitt, 1981), it has been reported that Portugal witnessed a massive flow of people (Maurice and Pires, 1989), among them those white Portuguese families and individuals who left Portugal to start a new life in Africa – the *retornados*. At that time, Portugal was a country economically and socially defeated and was facing the collapse of empire

and the loss of its *provincias marítimas* – the territorial designation Portugal gave to its African colonies. Moreover, the social and cultural cleavages between those coming from the former African territories and those who had never left Portugal were overwhelming. The economic problems of poverty and unemployment when added to the existing cultural and social differences prompted the outbreak of anger, ostracism and racism by the dominant Portuguese society toward the immigrant groups and individuals: they were perceived as a threat to the access to resources that were *per se* insufficient. Basically, those coming from former African colonies, as well as, the *retornados*, were repeatedly treated as a minority group, and were socially not recognised as Portuguese. In a nutshell, the struggle for material resources impelled the dominant Portuguese society to fabricate the formation of minority social groups<sup>4</sup>.

Other research has documented that minority group status experience represents a considerable impact upon groups' and individuals' lives. Gaines and Reed (1995) noticed that the occurrence of ethnicity is likely to be associated with individuals "*belonging to a group that has been oppressed or exploited throughout a historical period*" (1995: 97). Moreover, empirical findings have indicated that different levels of analysis, either collective or individual, should be taken into account during the examination of minority groups. Agreeing with this latter view, Phinney *et al.* (1996) suggested that the ways individuals perceive the intensity of his/her minority status is dependent upon the individual's personal characteristics (for example, his or her self-esteem).

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<sup>4</sup> For literary sources on the social stereotypes held by the dominant white Portuguese society, see Macedo (1991); Jorge (1995); and Antunes (1983).



### 2.3.5 *Ethnicity: Structure and Action*

An attempt to specifically connect ethnicity with social structures and groups and individuals' action, has been made by Fenton (1999). Vis-à-vis his aim, the author has developed the argument that ethnic group, ethnic identity and ethnicity are realities generated by macro, meso and micro social structures, as well as by groups and individuals' reactions towards it. According to Fenton's argument "*we should understand ethnicity as a social process, as the moving of boundaries and identities which people collectively and individually, draw around themselves in their lives*" (1999: 10). In order to strengthen his argument, Fenton identified three existing social structures: *macro, meso and micro social structures*. Following Fenton's explanation, the macro-social structure refers to the major economic and political patterns of the dominant society. The meso-social structure is connected with the existing institutions that mediate the interactions between groups and individuals and the State. Finally, the micro-social structure incorporates the daily interface between culturally different groups and individuals. Bringing the reality of immigration into this picture, it refers to the range of options immigrants are willing to adopt, for example, the language they might speak to their children, professional modes of acculturation, development of community networks and associative actions, and the degree of contact and participation with and within the host society. Thus, bearing in mind Fenton's theoretical explanation of what might be the structure of ethnicity, it is reasonable to suggest that the examination of the term demands a mutual analysis. On the one hand, ethnicity ought to be addressed as the groups and individuals' response to particular social structures and historical circumstances. Fenton proposed that "*in the modern world, there are three principal historical trajectories which*

*have given rise to ethnicised and racialised social orders. These are the enslavement of Africans, the European colonial domination of much of Asia, Africa and the 'New World', and the development of modern capitalism and the nation-state as a political form"* (1999:28). On the other hand, it is within these social structures and historical processes that groups' and individuals' ethnicities are sited, because *"within these historical processes, we suggest that the migration of workers and traders, the creation of international diasporas, the dispossession of some peoples and the marginalisation of others, have created the conditions for the emergence of different types of ethnicities. These different types of ethnicities are defined in relation to labour migration, modern slavery, the dispossession of indigenous peoples, the post-colonial order, and the concept of the nation and unequal valuation of cultures"* (1999:28-9).

The examination of the aforementioned theoretical perspectives and levels of analysis on the topic of ethnicity, has provided this research project with significant literature that, firstly, will allow an ordered reading of the assembled data and its analysis, and secondly will confirm or reject the research hypotheses mentioned earlier. Finally, there remains the notion that African Mozambican immigrants might use ethnicity as an identity response prompted by the social and historical structures of the host societies, and also as a psychological device aimed at preserving a positive sense of these immigrants' social identities and the attached dimensions.

## **2.4 Conclusions**

Throughout the preceding lines, attention was paid on the theoretical articulation between the Acculturation Strategies Model (Berry, 1980) and the Social Identity

Theory (Tajfel, 1978). This articulation is believed to supply substantial information to discuss and confirm either the research hypotheses or the research expectations (see *Figure 3*) previously defined.

In addition, the research hypotheses regarding the belief that, on the one hand, the notions of ethnic group, ethnic identity and ethnicity are socially constructed and, on the other hand, that the notion of ethnicity is likely to be considered as a term detached from the above concepts, has prompted a literature review dedicated to these issues. On the strength of the research hypotheses, the investigation of the literature went further, in order to examine the concept of ethnicity *per se*. As a result, it was possible to identify three major perspectives over this issue: ethnicity as a cultural phenomenon; ethnicity and power relation (the minority status of a group), finally, ethnicity as a groups' and individuals' response to social structures.

In conclusion, taking into consideration the theoretical contributions, it is expected that African Mozambicans adopt combined acculturative modes, based upon the interaction between modes of acculturation and identity strategies. Furthermore, it is also believed that Mozambican immigrants are not an ethnic group, but they do use ethnicity as a cultural response in relation to the social and historical structures imposed by the host Portuguese and English societies, and also as a psychological device to maintain a positive sense of their social identity. Additional work will focus attention on the methodological perspectives regarding the assumption that the context of immigration brings with it the social construction of acculturative modes, identity strategies and the notions of ethnic group, ethnic identity and ethnicity.



### 3 Methodological Approaches

*“Theory is a help only if we can learn from it,  
and we can learn from it only if we can use it.*

*Another way of putting this  
is that it is less a matter of learning  
than of learning to think theoretically”.*

Ian Craib

Throughout this chapter methodological approaches and critical discussion will be elaborated regarding the theoretical framework, the research hypotheses, and the research expectations outlined during Chapter 2. The aim of this chapter is to examine the potential methodological perspectives that are thought of to sustain the theoretical stance adopted in this research project. Notably, they are: the symbolic interactionism and the social constructionism perspectives. In addition, because it is believed individuals use discourse to account for their acculturative and identity experiences as immigrants, and employ discourse as a performative device through which they create their own narratives and particular rhetorical expressions, the method of discourse analysis will be addressed. Ultimately, to complete this methodological framework, the notion of narrative will be defined, regarding the articulation between theoretical and the methodological approaches developed for the purposes of this research.

### 3.1 Methodological Approaches

#### 3.1.1 *Symbolic Interactionism*

The historical development of symbolic interactionism has been traced by several writers and, it has been said that its roots can be found in the rationalism of John Locke. More concretely, its emergence as a distinctive perspective is thought to have been structured by the contributions stemming from the uniquely American philosophical school of pragmatism, the sociological interpretation of ecology and, from the field methods developed by anthropology, generally known as the field method of participant observation.

Contemporary symbolic interactionists have credited C.H. Cooley, J. Dewey and G.H. Mead as the leading figures responsible for the widespread influence of the interactionist perspective (Manis and Meltzer, 1967). By contrast, others authors, such as Meltzer *et al.* (1975), have added other names to the list of the leading figures of symbolic interactionism, they are: W. James and W.I. Thomas. Craib (1992), has identified the University of Chicago, Sociology Department (created around the 1920s) as the centre of the development of symbolic interactionism, and whose leading thinkers were W.I Thomas and Robert Park. However, a consistent agreement among interactionists has reported George Herbert Mead as the major theorist of symbolic interactionism. Contemporarily, inspired by the writings of these

founding thinkers, the two foremost exponents of symbolic interactionism are Herbert G. Blumer<sup>5</sup> (1969) and Manford H. Kuhn (1964).

### *3.1.1.1 Mead and the Assumptions of Symbolic Interactionism*

Mead's starting point (1934) was based on the belief that social interaction produces meanings and, subsequently meanings make up the human world. Moreover, through the process of social interaction individuals develop a sense of shared meanings, what Mead used to refer to as the '*significant symbol*'. Therefore, significant symbols were thought to provide human beings with the ability to interpret and negotiate with the social environment. On the basis of his thought, Mead distinguished two interpretative processes, what he called the 'phases' of the self. They were the '*me*' and the '*I*'. According to the author, the '*me*' refers to the external conversations, the social interaction between the self and others. To the contrary, the '*I*' is referred to as the internal conversation established inside the self, *i.e.*, the capability human beings have to build the awareness about themselves, and perceived by Mead as the source of individual originality, creativity and spontaneity. The most economical formulation of Mead's theoretical premises were presented by Blumer (1969), they were: human beings act towards things on the grounds of the meanings that it has for them; these meanings are the product of social interactions occurring within human society and, finally, these meanings are modified and manipulated depending upon the signs individuals perceive during the social interface.

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<sup>5</sup> For instance, Mead's ideas have been expounded by several sociologists throughout the years, and familiarity with his works has come through the teaching and the writings of his best known student, H. Blumer (see, Meltzer, *et al.*, 1975: 1).



Concerning Mead's assumptions, Craib (1992) has reported that different schools of thought have given emphasis to one or other premise delineated by Mead. As a result of this selective perspective in interpreting Mead's work, it is possible to indicate the emergence of diverse perspectives of symbolic interaction.

### 3.1.1.2 *The Various Forms of Symbolic Interactionism*

Generally, the forms of symbolic interaction have been identified as those adopted by the Chicago School, the Iowa School, the dramaturgical approach developed by Goffman (1971), and the form usually labelled 'role theory', which has been mostly systematised by Ralph Turner's work (1974).

For example, the Chicago School has concentrated on the flow of social interaction and the interpretative processes, by looking at the ways meanings are developed and changed on the articulation of social interaction and the processes attached to it. With regard to this interactionist view, Craib has argued that although "*there are several forms of interactionism ...the tendency known as the Chicago School, ... offers the most distinctive contribution*" (1992: 86) to consistently examine either the external (social structures) or the internal (agency) dynamism anchored to the social interactions between individuals.

The Iowa School, whose leading figure was Manfred Khun (1964), has attempted to shift the insights of symbolic interaction into measurable variables, by assuming that the self is stable and relatively unchanging. In his famous *Twenty Statements Test*

(the 'Who am I?'), Kuhn showed significant concern with the construction of an instrument to assess and identify self attributes. Following this aim, Kuhn attempted to convert Meadian concepts into researchable dimensions, in order to formulate operational definitions of the self, such as 'social act'; 'social object'; 'reference groups' (see, Metzger *et al.*, 1975).

One other variation of symbolic interactionism, usually labelled as 'role theory', has turned attention to the ways the internal conversation of the self might mediate the presentation of the self within role structures. In this respect, Ralph Turner's investigation has been reported as the most systematised one.

The final form to be discussed is the dramaturgical approach to symbolic interaction. Erving Goffman has been said to be the major representative of this perspective. The point of departure of Goffman's dramaturgical view, in which individuals are thought of as actors and life as a play with its own audience, is the premise that individuals' intentions of interaction are meant to manage the impressions others form during social interface. In effect, Goffman believed that the individual usually invests substantial symbolic energy when interacting with others, therefore "*the perspective employed ... is that of the theatrical performance; the principles derived are dramaturgical ones. I shall consider the way in which the individual ... presents himself and his activity to others, the ways in which he guides and controls the impressions they form of him, and the things he may and may not do while sustaining his performance before them*" (Goffman, 1959: xi). Essentially, Goffman's imagery of human beings has been described by Lyman and Scott (1970) as follows: "*Goffman's social actor, like Machiavelli's prince, lives externally. He engages in a*

*daily round of impression management, presenting himself to advantage when he is able .... His everyday life consists of interaction rituals, employing deference and demeanour, saving his own and someone else's face ...*" (1970: 20).

In spite of all theoretical efforts to greatly and consistently expound symbolic interactionism perspectives, some criticisms, either coming from interactionist practitioners or non-interactionists, have been pointed out.

### *3.1.1.3 Symbolic Interactionism and Regular Criticisms*

In this respect, Craib (1992) has argued that the most common criticism to symbolic interactionism is the fact that it overlooks the wider features of social structures, therefore, it has not come to terms with specific issues such as power, conflict and social change. On the basis of this stance, Craib has portrayed interactionist theoretical formulations as *"hopelessly vague, and that it provides an incomplete picture of the individual"* (1992: 90). In this regard, the author has indicated that the contributions resulting either from Mead's assumption or Goffman's dramaturgical approach, has prompted symbolic interactionism to present a narrow theoretical explanation about people's actions and the complexity of the real world. According to Craib, Mead's ideas are not really used as a theory to explain what is observed, but rather they are a simple description of what is being characterised. By drawing upon Goffman's approach, mostly developed on his book *The presentation of the self in everyday life* (1971), Craib has contended the manner that Goffman worked Mead's 'I' and 'me', tend to give the impression that *"everything is reduced to acting: the self has no substance beyond what is expected of us on different occasions, and we*



*have as many different selves as there are different occasions*” (1992: 89). The awareness of these theoretical deficiencies, has inspired Craib (1992) to resume his criticism as follows: symbolic interactionism as a theory is not rigorous and does not involve logical deduction, on the contrary, it solely provides a series of ideas the researcher may use in his/her work.

Similarly, non-interactionists have been keen on indicating a set of theoretical faults to symbolic interactionism. Specifically, non-interactionists have insisted that symbolic interactionism presents the tendency to be a-historical and non-economic especially in its approach to social problems. Accordingly, particular phenomena or specific problems selected for a study are rarely linked to their historical origins and development (Block, 1973; Smith, 1973; Ropers, 1973). For instance, Smith has taken into account that *“symbolic interactionism ... does not include social and historical [elements] as relevants. Focusing upon imputed definitions as autonomous from the social and historical conditions in which they exist results in a meaningless approach .... Social conditions, to be sure, are related to symbols and interaction ... related to the major institutions and their historical development”* (Smith, 1973: 74-5).

Another criticism is detected as being the limited view the interactionist perspective has upon the nature of social power (Kanter, 1972). Gouldner (1970; cf. Fine, 1993) has asserted that symbolic interactionism either takes no notice of social organisation or has a faulty notion of it. Shaskolski (1970) and Horowitz (1971) have advocated that symbolic interactionism recurrently pictures social reality as being too quaint and exotic. Ultimately, Huber (1973) has emphasised the belief that symbolic

interactionism is afflicted with certain ideological and philosophical biases, which come to distort its representation of collective social life. In the author's own words: *"the SI tradition shares with the philosophy of pragmatism from which it originates an epistemology which makes it reflect the social biases of the researcher and of the people whose behaviour is observed"* (1973: 275).

Furthermore, Meltzer *et al.* (1975) have observed that, regardless of the number of casual criticisms and occasional self-critical remarks in the writings of symbolic interactionists, what is really needed is a systematised set of criticisms. Regarding this remark, Meltzer (1959, 1972) and Brittan (1973) are said to have systematised the criticisms associated with symbolic interactionism.

The main thrust of Meltzer's (1959, 1972) critical statements were directly addressed to Mead's work. In accordance with the author's view, the major concepts of Mead's framework were either fuzzy and vague, or not consistently employed as required in scientific explanation<sup>6</sup>. Consequently, the concepts particularly susceptible to such imprecise and varying definition include impulse, meaning, mind, role-taking, image, attitude, gesture, the 'I', self, self-consciousness, and the generalized 'other'. Besides, as added by the author, Mead's theory suffers from certain substantive omissions. Among the more serious of these errors is an almost nearly total omission of the emotional and unconscious elements underlying human conduct. Finally, Mead's theory, in Meltzer's opinion (1959, 1972) has given rise to certain methodological difficulties. As a result, the framework is not easily researched, and it

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<sup>6</sup> Paul Rock (1979) has called it a deliberately constructed vagueness.

contains no clear cut prescriptions for either general procedures or specific techniques for enhancing its researchability (see, Denzin, 1992).

Brittan's ( 1973) criticisms generally cover the following arguments. On the one hand, symbolic interactionism has overestimated the unconscious and emotive variables within the interactive process (*cf.* Hotchschild, 1983; Franks and McCarthy, 1989). On the other hand, symbolic interactionism tends to underestimate the psychological domain, by disregarding individuals' needs, motives, intentions and aspirations, and subsequently by handling these variables as mere derivations of socially defined categories. Finally, Brittan has criticised the interactionist perspective's obsession with meaning, arguing that the social world is often perceived as a sheer adjunct to symbolic analysis, and either social change or social structure are issues rarely referred to.

Of all the aforementioned deficiencies put forward either by interactionists, or by non-interactionists, two major criticisms should be reported. Firstly, symbolic interactionism has shown limited consideration for human emotions; and secondly, the interactionist approach has also disregarded the immense value social structures have for the understanding of social reality and correlated processes. These criticisms are summarised by Meltzer *et al.* (1975) as follows: "*the first of these shortcomings implies that symbolic interactionism is not psychological enough, while the second implies that symbolic interactionism is not sociological enough*" (1975: 120).

Recently, a contrasting and more positive view has emerged through Fine's (1993) effort to redeem symbolic interactionism from its theoretical and methodological



deficiencies. Fine has built his conviction upon the evidence that symbolic interactionism has changed over the past two decades, regarding the issues that practitioners examine, and the interactionist position within the sociological domain. Following this perspective, the author has argued that “*once considered adherents to a marginal oppositional perspective, confronting the dominant positivist, quantitative approach of mainstream sociology, symbolic interactionists find now that many of their core concepts have been accepted*” (1993: 61). Taking into account this assertion, the following section will focus upon the resurrection process of symbolic interactionism and, how its rebirth has prompted the emergence of other theoretical approaches, which have borrowed the theoretical and methodological contributions from the interactionist framework.

#### 3.1.1.4 ‘*The glorious triumph of symbolic interactionism*’<sup>7</sup>

Fine has identified four processes that together have altered the character of symbolic interactionism. They are: *fragmentation*; *expansion*; *incorporation* and *adoption*. The last two interactionist circumstances of incorporation and adoption, will now be addressed. Effectively, many interactionist practitioners, aware of the criticisms of symbolic interactionism, have re-oriented their research priority by borrowing ideas and approaches from other disciplines in order to enrich their analysis.

According to Fine, the theoretical attempts to expand the research scope of symbolic interactionism can be seen through recent studies. For instance, the writings of

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<sup>7</sup> This title was borrowed from Alan Fines’s (1993) article entitled ‘*The sad demise, mysterious disappearance, and glorious triumph of symbolic interactionism*’.

Denzin (1992) and of McCall and Becker (1989) explicitly illustrate the theoretical effort of articulating symbolic interactionism and cultural studies. Moreover, the call for a synthetic interactionism (Fine, 1992), underlying the blending of diverse theoretical contributions on the subject of structure and agency, has galvanised interactionists to connect other models with the Blumerian approach to symbolic interactionism. These efforts have impacted upon the recent sociological trend, which has given relevance to the relationship between agency and structure. In this respect, Fine has argued that the acknowledgement of either the agency reality, or the structural one, is a consistent proof that symbolic interactionist is able to capture both the objective and the subjective components of structures, settings and events, while remaining focused on the contexts in which interaction takes place. Moreover, as has been assumed by Fine (1993), the willingness to make use of others disciplinary potential suggests the absence of a fortress mentality. In fact, attempts to link interactionism with Marxist and critical theory (Batiuk and Sacks, 1981; Ashley, 1985), or with the Parsonian theory (Alexander, 1987; Sciulli, 1988) reveal “*the desire to learn from other intellectually vital sources*” (Fine, 1993: 66).

Nevertheless, just as interactionists borrowed theoretical contributions from various sources, others (Collins, 1989; Joas, 1985; Habermas, 1987) have borrowed the theoretical and methodological wealth from symbolic interactionism. For example, Saxton (1989) has observed that writers are quite aware of the ability of symbolic interactionism to solve generic problems of analysis in a post-positivist period. Contextualists and constructivists in social psychology (Gergen, 1982; Shotter, 1986; Rosnow and Georgeourdi, 1986), ethnographers and interpretative theorists in anthropology (Clifford and Marcus, 1986; Geertz, 1980), have also discovered an

epistemological tradition similar to that which symbolic interactionists have been developing for half a century.

Fostering Fine's assertions of the broad contributions stemming and borrowed from the interactionist framework, Denzin (1997) has remarked that undoubtedly interactionists have made major contributions to many domains of sociology. For instance, Denzin has noticed the extensive research projects that have vividly demonstrated the symbolic interactionist influence: deviance (Becker, 1963; Lindesmith, 1968); social problems (Spector and Kitsuse, 1977); collective behaviour (Lofland, 1981); medical sociology (Glaser and Strauss, 1965; Charmaz, 1991); emotions (Hochschild, 1983; Franks and McCarthy, 1989); arts (Becker, 1982); social organization and bureaucratic structures (Hall, 1987; Altheide and Johnson, 1980); race relations and industrialisation (Lyman and Vidich, 1988); Maines and Morrione (1990); childhood socialisation (Power, 1985), family violence, criminal violence, mass media and small groups (Couch *et al.*, 1986).

Furthermore, added to the previous extensive list, Fine has also suggested that the increase of symbolic interactionism has led interactionists to address issues and debates confronting the whole of sociology. Specifically these are: *the debate over the macro-micro link in sociology; the agency/structure debate, and the division between social realists and interpretativists.*

Bearing in mind the purposes of this research project, the examination of the *agency/structure debate* is thought of to be methodologically useful and workable within the research hypotheses that the notions of ethnic identity, ethnic group and



ethnicity are believed to be an outcome of individuals and groups' agency toward social structures, *i.e.*, these notions are socially framed within the interaction amid groups and individuals and the social structures imposed upon them.

#### *3.1.1.5 Symbolic Interactionism and the Agency/Structure Debate*

Over the last decades, the sociological domain has attempted to come to terms with the individualism-holism problem (Alexander and Giesen *et al.*, 1987). Originally, the theories of social action regarding this dichotomy have been reported as intrinsically linked to the names of Emile Durkheim ([1885], 1982) and Max Weber ([1922], 1978), who respectively are acknowledged to be the founding fathers of sociology. According to Weber, sociology should put emphasis on the individuals' actions when examining the societal reality. A contrasting view was developed by Durkheim, who advocated that individuals' actions had to be addressed in relation to the existing social structures. In fact, the enduring resistance of this debate has prompted social theorists to labelled themselves as microsociologists (*e.g.*, Agassi, 1960) (those who advocate individualism approach) or as macrosociologists (*e.g.*, Parsons, 1949) (those who perceive social structures as the original explanation of individuals' agency<sup>8</sup>).

Generally, individualism refers to the principle that the societal phenomena should be committed to the study of individual features and, therefore those features should be taken as an unit of analysis. Dahlback (1998) has indicated that the use of an individualistic approach implies, at the very least, the assumption that the basic part

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<sup>8</sup> Here, the terms of action and agency are used interchangeably.

of the theory has to be focused upon the individual level. Contrarily, macrosociologists, the defendants of a holistic perspective, are convinced that social structures supply substantial information to properly understand individuals' actions (DiTomaso, 1982). Hence, the theoretical assumption is directly associated to the belief that societal phenomenon should to be used as the fundamental unit of examination.

Regardless of this disparity, during the recent decades, the literature has reported attempts to overcome the previous dichotomy. In fact, researchers from different sociological disciplinary arenas have rejected the relevance of the individualistic-holistic division (Bourdieu, 1992; Giddens, 1989; Lemert, 1979; Seidman, 1992), by arguing that the agency-structure debate has increasingly assumed an important place in mainstream sociological analysis. Particularly, efforts to transcend this dualism have been presented by the works of French social scientists (Rossi, 1981; 1983; Heydebrand, 1981; Eisenstadt, 1981); by contemporary symbolic interactionists (Fine, 1992; Baldwin, 1988; Ritzer, 1990; Strauss, 1978, 1982; Fine and Kleinman, 1983; Maines, 1977; Hall, 1987); by ethnic relations researchers and, lastly, by Giddens (1984) whose position has been referred to as a relatively successful endeavour to accomplish the reconciliation through the development of the theory of structuration (see Fine, 1992).

So far, the historical and theoretical development of symbolic interactionism has been identified. Indeed, the survival of this paradigm is seen by some authors (for instance, Fine, 1993) as the '*glorious triumph of symbolic interactionism*'. Plus, a critical exposition of this paradigm enabled the research concerns of this study to be fitted into this methodological framework. Therefore, it is now feasible to choose the

direction that is believed to be most suitable for the development of this research project, namely the interactionist approach regarding the agency/structure debate. From this perspective, the theory postulates that through the interaction between social actors and groups and social structures, social reality and symbolic dimensions are constructed. When applied in human terms, and taking in consideration the theoretical model defined during chapter 2, it is expected that African Mozambicans immigrants socially construct their acculturative modes and identities strategies through an active interaction between them and the host societies.

Although this interactionist approach is seen as useful to this research, there are some limitations. Firstly, it fails to offer the tools to investigate how human reality is socially constructed through interaction; and secondly, the processes regarding the ways individuals and groups make sense of the world and formulate accounts of it, seem to be a missing variable within the symbolic interactionist agenda. These limitations are forged by taking account of the conviction that individuals and groups perceive the social reality on the basis of the discourses they create about it; that they are engaged in the project of narratively creating a reliable account of their perceptions, feelings and emotions, and committed to reconsidering their own narratives, in order to protect and preserve a powerful sense of the world and their own social identities.

Bearing in mind the previous arguments, social constructionism<sup>9</sup> will be looked at, because it is thought to provide appropriate information with which to address the

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<sup>9</sup> Alan Fine has referred to social constructionism as one of the active empirical research areas of symbolic interactionism. Hence, Fine has identified it as representing one of the “*symbolic interactionist domains*” (1993: 71).



constructive processes developed by groups and individuals on the basis of social interactions. Moreover, regarding the assertion that human beings use discourse to narratively account for their experiences and perceptions, as well discursive tools to reinforce their accounts, the articulation of social constructionism, discourse analysis, interpretative repertoires and narrative is aimed to be accomplished.

### ***3.1.2 Social Constructionism and Theoretical Assumptions***

Burr (1999) has generally argued that “*there is no feature which could be said to identify a social constructionist position*” (1999:2), however, some authors (see Gergen, 1985) have attempted to present social constructionism assumptions into more formulated claims. First, social constructionism has assumed a critical stance towards the idea of a taken-for-granted knowledge. In this regard, social constructivists have insisted that there is a need to adopt a critical view concerning the ways of understanding the social world.

One other theoretical claim refers to the concern that events take place within a historical and cultural matrix. In this respect, constructivist approach has perceived social reality as historically and culturally embedded. Regarding this assumption, the constructivist paradigm has urged its practitioners to pay attention on cultural and historical processes underlying the emergence and development of human events. For instance, Aries (1962) has observed that social action has to be particularly intertwined with the social and economic arrangements prevailing in the culture wherein it has occurred.

In addition, social constructionism has also come to accept that knowledge is sustained by social process. As a result of this claim, constructivist literature has reported that knowledge is a result of daily interactions between people in the course of social life. Hence, the ways of understanding the human world should not rely upon objective observations, but rather the interpretative social processes and interactions in which people are constantly engaged.

Finally, social constructionism believes that discourse is a form of social action. Consequently, discourse has been perceived as a device allowing individuals to be aware of others, also as a means of producing a reaction by an individual, group or by society in general. Accordingly, discourse is said to be more than a passive way of human expression, and to possess a performative function.

Whether social reality is made up by interactions between individuals and sustained by discourse is arguable. Therefore what is discourse? And, what function does it play in the lives of individuals?

### *3.1.2.1 What is Discourse?*

MacDonnell (1986) has specified that dialogue is the primary function of discourse and that speech and writing are social. Giving some emphasis to MacDonnell's remark, Fairclough (1989) has asserted that discourse is a social practice. According to Fairclough, discourse is considered a social practice because it is a vital part of society and not something external to it. From this conviction, Fairclough has stated: *"my view is that there is not an external relationship 'between' language and society, but an internal and dialectical relationship. Language is a part of society; linguistic*

*phenomena are social phenomena of a special sort, and social phenomena are (in part) linguistic phenomena*" (1989: 23).

A much deeper definition of discourse was presented by Foucault (1972). In this opinion, discourse is not purely an abstract idea, but an element intimately connected with the structures through which upon societies have organised. Put it simply, Foucault assumed discourse as being "*practices which form the objects of which they [people] they speak*" (1972: 49). Considered in these terms, the Foucaultian definition of discourse proposed that discourse provides frames of reference, ways to interpret the world and to give it that meaning which allows 'objects' to take shape. Moreover, according to Foucault the understanding of discourse as a social phenomena, as well as a linguistic one is closely bound up with what he designated the *archaeology of knowledge*. He developed this thought upon the belief that it is historically feasible to trace back the manifestation of a discourse, by uncovering the social, economic and cultural structures that provided the breeding ground for it.

Derrida (1978) has argued that discourse cannot be solely perceived as constrained and shaped by social structures, but rather as an issue of flexibility and fluidity of meanings which discourse can assume. As a part of the growing poststructuralist movement<sup>10</sup>, Derrida has advocated that words (including either the signifier or the

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<sup>10</sup> The cultural and intellectual 'backcloth' against which poststructuralism has taken shape is usually referred to as modernism. Modernism as an intellectual movement is related to the Enlightenment project. Basically, the Enlightenment project was aimed at searching for the truth, and at understanding the genuine nature of reality, through the application of reason and rationality. In sociology, the search for rules and structures was exemplified by Marx, who explained social phenomena in terms of the underlying economic structure.

In linguistics, the idea that the structure of language determines the lines along which individuals divide up their experience, is at the heart of what is commonly referred to as structuralism. The front-image of this movement was Saussure, and the key concept in Saussurean approach is that the sign is



signified) used in discourse might be presented, in terms of meaning, differently, depending on the social context wherein they are being employed. Basically, the Derridean argument was built against the classical premise that the meaning (the signified, for instance the idea of orange) becomes fixed to the word (the signifier, the word orange). Fostering the poststructuralist paradigm, Derrida has insisted that the meanings of signifiers (words) constantly change, because words are contextually dependent. Accordingly, in the Derridean approach words assume different meanings regarding its permeability to contextual influences: who is using the words?; when?; and in what situation?. In addition to this, in the Derridean perspective, the meaning of one word even within a single sentence is probably determined by previous words. Derrida employed the French term '*difference*' to portray the dynamism occurring inside discourse and words (for a clear understanding of Derrida's ideas, see Sarup (1988), and Sampson (1989)).

Allowing for the aforementioned framework, Parker (1992) has advanced a workable definition of discourse as consisting of a "*system of statements which constructs an object*" (1992: 5). From this definition, discourse is thought of as a set of meanings, metaphors, representations, images, stories, and statements that provide individuals with the resources to create accounts of the social world. Parker (1992) has argued that each discursive statement brings different aspects into focus, and raises a range

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ruled by particular structures, which bind together the signifier and the signified. In other words, the meaning becomes fixed to the signified.

The rejection of the idea that rules and structures shape the forms of the real world prompted the emergence of the so-called poststructuralism movement. Frequently, the notions of poststructuralism and postmodernism are used interchangeably. Essentially, poststructuralism has built its claim against the idea that the world can be understood in terms of grand theories or metanarratives, by emphasising the co-existence of a multiplicity and variety of situation-dependent ways of life. French intellectual such as Foucault and Derrida are commonly thought of as being the leading thinkers of this movement.

of issues due to the socially and contextually-dependent nature of discourse. As a result of this permeability to context (Shanon 1998<sup>11</sup>), words and sentences do not necessarily belong to any particular discourse, but rather their meaning is dependent upon the discursive context, the social framework wherein words are embedded. In relation to this aspect, Burr (1999) has reported that it is reasonable to approach discourse as *“a kind of frame reference, a conceptual framework backcloth against which our utterances can be interpreted. So there is a two-way relationship between discourses and the actual things that people say or write: discourses ‘show up’ in the things that people say and write, and the things we say and write, in their turn, are dependent for their meaning upon the discursive context in which they appear”* (1999: 50). Thus far, discourses, either written or represented are aimed at constructing individuals’ accounts of the social world.

Regarding the role discourse plays within individuals’ lives, particular conceptions of the term have brought into discussion two contrasting approaches to it. On the one side, there are those writers, such as Foucault (1972), Hollway (1989), Parker (1992), Weedon (1987), and Walkerdine (1987) who have assumed that discourse is a matter of power relations. Following this perspective to discourse, issues like identity, selfhood, personal and social change, and power relations have been receiving particular attention. Some of these authors have also drawn upon psychoanalytic concepts in order to understand selfhood and subjectivity. On the other side, other

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<sup>11</sup> Shanon (1998) has argued that the notion of context is one of the most central notions in cognition. With this regard, Shannon has said that *“the appraisal that human behaviour is context-sensitive and the appreciation that the rules by which it is governed are context-dependent are so basic that they might even seem to be trite”* (1998: 157). In addition, Shannon has also attempted to define his stance regarding the term, by arguing that context should not be perceived *“neither in linguistic terms, nor in representational ones, nor should it be pushed outside to the external world. Rather, context should be defined by means of a terminology which, by its very nature, is interactional”* (1998: 163).



writers have given to discourse a diverse focus, drawing upon different traditions. As a result of this effort, a productive line of enquiry has emerged on the basis of the performative function of discourse. In fact, Austin (1962) has indicated that sentences or utterances are important not because they describe things, but rather because of the function they are said to perform. This functional view of discourse has been common to the sociological tradition of ethnomethodology. The word ethnomethodology simply means the study of the methods (methodology) used by people (ethno). It is the study of the methods that ordinary people use to produce and make sense of everyday life. In sum, this 'performative' approach to discourse has been able to inform what people are doing with talk and writing, in other words, with discourse. Research done upon this tradition has oriented its attention either towards how accounts are constructed and bring about effects for the speaker or the writer (Potter and Wetherell, 1987; Edwards and Potter, 1992; Potter and Reicher, 1987), or the rhetorical devices used by individuals and how are they employed (Billig, 1987, 1991). Finally, an effort to reconcile previous approaches has led Burr (1999) to assert that both perspectives are not incompatible, to the contrary, they clearly reflect theoretically different concerns of "*people working essentially under a 'social constructionist umbrella'*" (1999: 47).

In spite of the theoretical explanations and claims for the understanding of discourse, there is a need as has been suggested by Burman (1991) to maintain a clear distinction between discourse models and definitions, and the specific methodological approaches. Over the last few years, there has been an effort to launch a reliable study into the methodological aspect of discourse (Potter and Wetherell, 1987; Gill, 1996), advocating the discourse analysis method as being one



of the most informative methodological tool with which to examine the structure and functions of discourse.

### 3.1.3 *The Method of Discourse Analysis*

Discourse analysis has been reported as a method focused upon ‘talk’, text as social practices, as well as upon the resources that are believed to enable the construction of these social practices. For instance, Gill (1996) has defined discourse analysis as being one of the most exciting developments within the social sciences, during the recent years. Aimed at illustrating the flourishing development of discourse analysis, Potter has identified three major perspectives related to its examination: cognition; construction, and action.

Regarding the cognitive approach to discourse, the method of discourse analysis has turned attention to the study of texts and talk, as well as to the ways that these issues are constructed, and the functions they are performing.

The constructivist perspective of discourse has examined how versions of actions and events are constructed through discourse<sup>12</sup>. Gill (1996) has argued that “*the*

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<sup>12</sup> Shotter and Gergen (1994) have stated that social constructionism “*has given voice to a range of new topics*” (1994: 1) on the subject of discourse. Regarding this particular statement, Potter (1996) has demonstrated the emergence of different constructionist approaches to the study of discourse. They may be listed as follows:

1. Conversational analysis (Atkinson and Heritage, 1984);
2. Discourse analysis (Potter and Wetherell, 1987);
3. Ethnomethodology (Button, 1991);
4. Feminist studies (Radke and Stam, 1994);
5. Ethnogenics (Harre, 1992);
6. Poststructuralism (Culler, 1983; Hallway, 1989);
7. Postmodern political science (Der Derian and Shapiro, 1989);
8. Rhetoric (Billig, 1987);
9. Reflexive ethnography (Clifford and Marcus, 1986);
10. Sociology of scientific knowledge (Latour and Woolgar, 1986);
11. Sociocultural psychology (Wertsch, 1991);

*constructive use of language is an aspect of social life .... The notion of construction, then clearly marks a break with traditional, realist accounts of language, in which it is taken to be a transparent medium, a relatively straightforward path to 'real' beliefs or events, or a reflection of the way things really are"* (1996: 142). Regarding constructivist criticism to realist belief, Burr (1999) maintained that one of the main features of social constructionism is to reject that the knowledge one has of the world is a direct perception of reality. In sustaining her argument, Burr has contented that all knowledge is derived from looking at the social world from some particular perspective, and its perception it is made in the service of some interests rather than others.

Lastly, in the action view of discourse, discourse analysis has assessed the performative and functional roles of discourse (*e.g.*, Edwards and Potter, 1993; Gill, 1993; Antaki, 1994). In this regard, the discourse analysis of racism has been concerned: with the ways in which accounts and descriptions of events are marshalled into particular contexts to legitimate the blaming of a minority group (Potter and Wetherell, 1988); with the resources that are available in a specific cultural setting and through which racist practices are formally justified (Nairn and McCreanor, 1991; Wetherell and Potter, 1992).

### *3.1.3.1 Two Traditions to Discourse Analysis*

In addition to the aforementioned perspectives, the application of discourse analysis as a method is commonly divided into two distinct traditions: firstly, that anchored to



*discursive and rhetorical psychology*, mainly represented by linguistics, hermeneutics and ethnomethodology (Potter and Wetherell, 1987; Edwards and Potter, 1992; Potter, 1996). And secondly, the discursive tradition of *critical psychology*, commonly influenced by feminism, Marxism and Foucault's ideas (Burman and Parker, 1993; Parker, 1992). While the discursive and rhetorical psychology tradition perceives the discursive practices as varying and contradictory, and oriented to perform certain functions by drawing upon available resources - *interpretative repertoires* -; the critical psychology tradition sees discourse as consisting of networks or complexes of power-knowledge relations (e.g., Parker, 1994), and uses deconstruction to look at the taken-for-granted meanings and oppositional assumptions implied in texts.

Bearing in mind the extensive scope of this research project, I shall adopt the discursive and rhetorical approach, examining how immigrant groups and individuals use discourse to make sense of the world and of their own identities, during the immigration and acculturation processes. I will also examine, how discursive practices are socially constructed and legitimatised on the basis of the available social resources.

### 3.1.3.2 *Interpretative Repertoires*

In the view of the discursive and rhetorical approach to discourse, individuals construct their versions and accounts of society on the basis of the available cultural discursive resources. The literature has named these resources *interpretative repertoires*. Gill (1996) has argued that interpretative repertoires are thought of as



linguistic tools and language practices that provide individuals with systems of forms, metaphors and commonplace expressions upon which they are able to create particular accounts of the social world. For instance, Potter (1996) has defined the concept of interpretative repertoires as “ *systematically related sets of terms that are often used with stylistic and grammatical coherence and often organised around one or more central metaphors. They develop historically and make up an important part of the ‘common sense’ of a culture, although some are specific to certain institutional domains*” (1996: 130). According to Potter (1996), interpretative repertoires are intended to accommodate two considerations: first, that there are resources available that can be used in a range of different settings to carry out particular tasks – the performative function -; second, that these resources allow people to move between their interpretative repertoires with some noticeable flexibility. Concerning this latter aspect, Potter has observed that individuals “*often draw on a number of different repertoires, flitting between them as they construct the sense of a particular phenomenon or as they perform different actions*” (1996: 131). Furthermore, Potter has identified the classical work of Gilbert and Mulkay (1984) to clarify the role of interpretative repertoires played upon individuals’ discourse. Gilbert and Mulkay’s (1984) empirical evidence has reported that scientists commonly use interpretative repertoires in their formal writing to justify facts and use different ones in their informal ‘talk’. More recently, the same notion has been addressed in a number of studies that have a more social psychological focus, for instance, the works of Potter and Reicher (1987), Wetherell *et al.*(1987), Wetherell and Potter (1992), Marshall and Raabe (1993). The major analytical goal similar of these studies was the identification of repertoires and the explanation of the practices of which they are a part.

However, some writers have raised some problems related to the use of interpretative repertoires (Potter, 1996; Billig, 1991; Gill, 1996; Wetherell and Potter, 1988). For instance, Potter (1996) has argued that *“although the notion of interpretative repertoires has proved to be analitically fruitful, it does have certain limitations. For example, it is much more difficult to make clear and consistent judgements concerning the boundaries of particular repertoires outside constrained institutional settings such as science discourse; another problem is that the generality of the notion of a repertoire may obscure local interactional ‘business’ that is being achieved by particular forms of discourse”* ( 1996: 131; see also Woofitt, 1992). Wetherell and Potter (1988) have also advanced the argument that the use of interpretative repertoires has some limitations. They argued that its application within a discourse analysis framework does not avoid the fact that discourse analysis and interpretative repertoires are craft skills, that can be difficult and always involve an intensive labour. From this evidence, Wetherell and Potter (1988) have warned that it is common to work with one analytical schema for several days, only to have to revise or discard it, because the linguistic device does not fit precisely with the theoretical framework. Billig (1991) also advises practitioners that it is necessary to be conscious of the way that language is being employed, and to be aware of what is not being said. Following this precaution, Gill (1996) asserted that without an awareness of the social, political and cultural trends and contexts in which text and discourse are being used, it will be almost impossible to carry out a proper and reliable analysis and, moreover, it will be an impracticable task to look at the alternative versions of events that discourse is designed to counter, as well as, to notice the systematic absence of particular sorts of accounts existing within that



discourse. Undoubtedly, these precautions will be considered in during the analysis of the assembled data.

To be sure that this methodological framework is workable within the research hypotheses, research expectations, and the theoretical framework formerly defined, the term of narrative shall be introduced. There are those reasons underlying this methodological option. First, where discourse emerges spontaneously, narrative assures the possibility of providing individuals' accounts with either units of temporality – such 'the when and where contexts of the account' –, or units of contextuality /relationality – such as 'with who?', 'in relation to'; 'between what?'; 'at the presence or absence of' contexts. Methodologically, it is expected to overcome these limitations, by assuming that different narrative periods may prompt the appearance of some repertoires rather than others; moreover, that some interpretative repertoires may be more pertinent to the interpretation of some particular narratives than others. Ultimately, that the issues being debated may be constrained by the social context to which they are related, and therefore the interpretative repertoires available to the individuals may be limited.

Second, individuals and groups make sense of what has happened and is happening to them by bringing into their experiences, identities and perceptions a narrative order (Somers and Gibson, 1998). An order that is expected to give them a sense of a storied life (Bruner, 1987), with a beginning, a development stage, and an end.

Third, that individuals and groups' appraisals of their experiences, perceptions and identities are changing and multiple according to the circumstances of their lives at



that particular time (Ellis and Bochner, 2000). Ultimately, that individuals and groups construct narratives “*to claim identities and construct lives*” (Riessman, 1993: 2, see also Rosenwald and Ochberg, 1992).

### 3.2 A Brief Approach to the Notion of Narrative – ‘Life as Narrative’<sup>13</sup>

The term ‘narrative’ can be theoretically addressed either in a broad sense, or specifically according to the existing approaches to it. Somers and Gibson (1998) have demonstrated that the study of narrative has witnessed a shift from a focus on representational to ontological narrativity. Basically, the actual lines of research on narrative have put emphasis on the idea that social life is itself storied and that narrative is an ontological condition of social life (Somers and Gibson, 1998). In fact, more recently, scholars coming from diverse research fields, for instance: Ricoeur (1979, 1981, 1984, 1986), from law and critical race theory, Williams (1991), Lawrence (1992), Geertz (1983), White (1984); from psychology, Hales (1985), Kemper (1984), Bruner (1986, 1987), Sarbin (1986), Gergen and Gergen (1986); from Personal Narratives Group (1989), Maynes (1989), Gordon (1986) – the list is immense – have showed that: “*stories guide action; that people construct identities (however multiple and changing) by locating themselves or being located within a repertoire of emplotted stories; that “experience” is constituted through narratives; that people make sense of what has happened and is happening to them by attempting to assemble or in some way to integrate these happenings within one or more narratives; and that people are guided to act in certain ways, and not others, on the basis of the projections, expectations, and memories derived from a*

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<sup>13</sup> The title ‘*Life as narrative*’, was borrowed from Bruner’s (1987) article ‘*Life as narrative*’.

*multiplicity but ultimately limited repertoire of available social, public, and cultural narratives*” (Somers and Gibson, 1998: 38-9).

Basically, the underlying premise is that through narratives, individuals are told to know, to understand, and make sense of the social world, as well to define and re-define their identities. Regarding this latter aspect, Somers and Gibson have argued that *“to be sure, agents adjust stories to fit their own identities, and, conversely, they will tailor “reality” to fit their stories”* (1998: 61).

Riessman (1993) has stated that the study of narrative does not fit neatly within the boundaries of any scholarly field. Fundamentally, narrative analysis assumes as its objects of investigation the story itself. With this regard, Riessman (1993) has argued that individuals selectively determined the structure of their narratives, precisely by deciding which elements are included and excluded: *“human agency and imagination determine what gets included and excluded in narrativization, how events are plotted, and what they are supposed to mean”* (1993: 2). Fundamentally, narrative structures individuals’ aim to *“claim identities and construct lives”*. Similar to Riessman’s explanation, Rosenwald and Ochberg (1992) have defined the function associated to narrative as follows: *“personal stories are not merely a way of telling someone (or oneself) about one’s life; they are the means by which identities may be fashioned”*(1992: 1).

Bruner (1987) has enhanced the idea that narratives are not merely information devices, but rather that narratives structure perceptual experience, and organise memory *“to segment and purpose-build the very events of life”* (1987: 15). Finally,



Ellis and Bochner (2000) have referred to narrative as consisting of a story “*about the past and not the past itself. Narrative truth seeks to keep the past alive in the present*” (2000: 745). Above all, these authors have added that narratives allow individuals to rearrange, re-describe, invent, omit and revise their perceptions of the social world and of their own identities, to create a narrative bridge between past, present and future, and to give individuals a sense of “*continuity of experience over time*” (Crites, 1971).

Given the intention of this research, the definition of the term ‘narrative’ will be limited to two premises: first, that narratives permit individuals and groups to constructively make sense of the social world and identities; second, the narratives provide individuals with a matrix of temporality and relationality through which it is possible to observe the performative function of discourse and interpretative repertoires.

### **3.3 Conclusions**

The examination of the aforementioned methodological approaches have served to argue that the processes of acculturation and identity positioning are better understood when addressed in a constructivist view. Bearing this in mind, attention was paid to the assumptions that reality is based on social interactions, and that this social process is sustained by discourse. In addition, it was also noted that individuals’ and groups’ actions have to be placed within the dynamic relationship between social structures and social actors, wherein discourse plays either a performative or a rhetorical function, regarding individuals’ and groups’ efforts to account for their experiences and perceptions of the social world. Although this view



was seen as methodologically helpful, it was however reported to partially embrace the ways how social actors attempt to describe and explain their own representations of the world. In this respect, it was assumed that where discourse emerges spontaneously by carrying along with it linguistic devices – interpretative repertoires – narratives provide individuals and groups with a matrix of temporality and relationality/contextuality upon it, they are capable of bringing their experiences, perceptions and identities into either a chronological or an ontological order.

According to this methodological framework, the notions of ethnic group, ethnic identity and ethnicity will be methodologically defined as social constructions as well as identity narratives. Specifically, ethnicity will be addressed as an interactional outcome emerging from the dynamic interface between social actors and social structures. The notion of ethnicity will be worked as an agency response to social structures, also as a cultural and identity narrative social actors draw upon to ‘*claim*’ and legitimate their identity positioning over time.

So far, the most appropriate theoretical and methodological approaches to the present research project have been examined. The theoretical boundaries have been drawn, and it is now time to embrace reality; that reality regarding the sociological and historical background prior to African Mozambican immigration: the reality where everything began, and life became an identity and acculturation narrative.

## 4 Historical and Sociological Background Prior to African Mozambican Immigration

*“Antes de se tornar um imigrado,  
é um emigrado; antes de chegar a  
um país, teve de deixar um outro”.*

Amin Maalouf

The present chapter does not pretend to analyse in profundity the history of Mozambique, but rather it aims, firstly to identify the historical and sociological contexts that better enunciate the reasons underlying African Mozambicans' departure from their homeland; secondly to articulate historical and sociological data with the modes of acculturation (Berry, 1980, 1997), strategies of identity (Tajfel, 1978), and identity and ethnicity narratives (Riessman, 1993; Bruner, 1987; Somers and Gibson, 1998) developed and constructed by African Mozambican immigrants, in Portugal and England (see Chapters 6 and 7); thirdly, to accurately discuss the research hypotheses defined on Chapter 2:

- a) African Mozambican immigrants are not an ethnic group;
- b) ethnicity is a term that has to be thought of as disassociated from the notions of ethnic group and ethnic identity;
- c) the notions of ethnic group, ethnic identity and ethnicity are socially constructed.

With this in mind, the current chapter examines specific historical moments related to the history of Mozambique:

- a) Portuguese colonialism ( mainly from 1926 to 1974);
- b) the decolonisation process and the colonial war (from 1964 to 1974);
- c) the Mozambican transitional government (from 1974 to 1975);
- d) the Mozambican independence and the building of the new Mozambican project of society (from 25<sup>th</sup> June,1975);
- e) the association of the changes emerged after independence with the African Mozambican flow of immigration (from 1976 to 1989).

Basically, the chapter will be developed in two intertwined parts. The first part will focus on the above first four historical moments: the longstanding presence of Portuguese colonialism; the Mozambican struggle for independence, the colonial war, and the process of decolonisation; the transitional government, and the independence of Mozambique.

The second part will cover the final phase (e). Based upon historical evidence, the chapter will be structured to examine, on the one side, African Mozambicans' perceptions of and reactions to the new ideological project of building a new Mozambican society, and on the other side, to connect their perceptions on the above topic with their departure from Mozambique.



## 4.1 Part One

*“A historia de um povo é a historia desse povo  
e dos que se cruzaram com ele, enquanto foi  
ganhando forma, caracter e sentido nacional”.*

Luis Polanah.

### 4.1.1 *The Longstanding Presence of Portuguese Colonialism*

The presence of Portuguese colonialism could be sensed, reportedly, from the sixteenth century. Two distinctive periods are said to identify clearly the growth and development of Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique: the first period, which lasted until 1926, was characterised by a highly decentralised and disorganised colonial government, riddled with corruption and mismanagement (see, Newitt, 1995; Isaacman *et al.*, 1983). As argued by Isaacman *et al.* (1983), it was a time during which groups’ and foreign concessionary<sup>14</sup> companies’ interests prevailed. Throughout this historical moment, it could be argued that Portugal’s ambitions did not extend beyond commercial trade. Although Portugal attempted to impose its hegemony upon indigenous societies, the natives were able to repel any Portuguese military advances. In this respect, Hedges (2000) has commented that other groups, like the Swahili and the Arabs also disputed with the Portuguese army its supremacy

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<sup>14</sup> The most important ones being the Zambezi, the Mozambique, and the Nyasa companies. For more detailed information regarding this topic, see, for instance, Newitt’s work (1995).

regarding the commercial trade<sup>15</sup>. The second period of Portuguese presence in Africa is associated with the Salazarist regime, which lasted from 1926 to 1974.

From another perspective, it could be argued that historical evidence has identified three periods concerning the Portuguese colonial empire in Africa. The first period could be dated between 1825 and 1875, where the concern was to define the colonial project and practice on African territories; the second one was the realisation of this project through the application of territorial colonial policies; finally, the third moment, corresponded to the empire's economic development (1926) until its final crisis (1974).

For instance, Gervase's (1985) analysis of Portuguese ambitions of empire went beyond African territories. In accordance with this author (1985), the first Portuguese empire was short-lived, lasting no longer than the sixteenth century, and was located in the Orient. Gervase (1985) argued that *"many Portuguese, to this day, are filled with nostalgia for the brief period when Portugal led the world. Politicians and colonial ideologues were able to play strongly on the vibrant chord of imperial grandeur throughout the history of the third empire by recalling the great days of discoveries and Asia conquests"* (1985: 1).

Following Gervase's (1985) observations, the second Portuguese empire was less glorious but more profitable, relying on the plantations and mines of 'golden Brazil'.

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<sup>15</sup> Hedges (2000) has showed that: *"a actividade mercantil swahili e arabe em Moçambique data ja de antes do seculo XI da nossa era, a crer nos testemunhos arabes .... No inicio, do seculo XVI existiam provavelmente alguns milhares de mouros, o termo com que os portugueses designavam os swahili, no imperio de Muenemutapa. O ouro constituia o principal artigo de comercio: com efeito, ja muito antes da chegada dos mercadores portugueses os swahili-arabes controlavam o ouro vindo do imperio de Muenemutapa"* (2000: 53).



In this aspect, it seemed clear to some authors (e.g. Fieldhouse, 1966) that Brazil was important in the general history of Europe, because it was the prototype of the plantation colony; in Fieldhouse's own words: "*during the early years of the eighteenth century, new forces were making Brazil a more complex and much richer society. The discovery of gold and diamonds in Minas Gerais after 1670 produced a large mining industry*" (1966: 30). In fact, Brazil became a colony of settlement, where Portuguese immigrants' language and culture was inextricably rooted<sup>16</sup>.

Ultimately, the third Portuguese empire was built on the African continent. It was, according to Gervase (1985; see also, Alexandre, 2000 – '*Velho Brasil Novas Africas – Portugal e o Imperio (1808-1975)*'), an attempt to reproduce a 'New Brazil'<sup>17</sup>, where it seemed clear to the Portuguese that "*it was thus in central Africa that any 'new Brazil' had to be constructed. Angola was the bastion of Portuguese power in Africa, and the great 'black mother' of Brazil*"<sup>18</sup> (1985: 3).

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<sup>16</sup> Wasserman (1984) observed that in any decolonising effort, one colonial remnant which is virtually impossible to exorcise from the *creole* culture (the mix race) is that of the coloniser's language. By reinforcing her belief, Wasserman (1984) has argued that in the case of Latin America countries, it is possible to witness the language supremacy of the former Spanish empire upon the majority of the population. Moreover, the author has added that throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Latin American authors have found themselves in the incongruous position of needing to express their emotions, perceptions and thoughts through the available linguistic tools, those ones related to European language and modes of representation.

With regard to former Portuguese colonies, Hamilton (1986) noted that "*writers in all of the former Portuguese territories, like their counterparts elsewhere in Africa, have struggled with the dilemma of having to use a Western language as a medium for their artistic expression. Socially committed writers, whatever their ethnic or racial background, have sought to cultivate their Portuguese in such a way as to stimulate 'Africanness' – or at least their understanding of it*" (1986: 203).

<sup>17</sup> Ramos (2000) has highlighted that the Portuguese empire in Africa was indeed a wish to reproduce the healthy economy located in Brazil: "*o seu ponto de partida esta na frequencia com que os entusiastas do dominio portugues em Africa citaram o caso do Brasil para afiançar os seus projectos africanos. Segundo um deles, em 1877, o objectivo era "fazer do nosso vasto imperio africano um novo Brasil de um novo Portugal"* (2000: 129).

<sup>18</sup> See, for instance Rocha's (1992) study on the cultural and political relationship between Mozambique and Brazil – '*Contribuição para o estudo das relações entre Moçambique e o Brasil – século XIX: Trafico de escravos, relações politicas e culturais*'.



However, it was not until the appearance of Antonio Salazar in 1926 and the start of the Salazarist regime during the 30s, that it was feasible to refer to a proper Portuguese colonial system in Africa. Under Salazar's authority, the colonial ambition of the Portuguese empire assumed a more rigid, centralised scheme of domination, in contrast with its preceding periods. As observed by Rocha *et al.* (1999): *“a partir de Outubro de 1926, foram promulgadas leis que revelaram a intenção do novo regime de estreitar as relações entre as colónias e a Metrópole, corrigindo a fraqueza das relações económicas existentes até então. Para o efeito, propôs-se a imposição de um controle mais directo e rigoroso sobre os recursos das colónias”* (1999: 29).

#### **4.1.2 The ‘New State’ and the Portuguese Colonial Project**

Alexandre (2000) suggested that the historiography on the colonial issue covering 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries has been influenced, during the last two decades, by reactions against the theory that Portugal's intentions in Africa revealed the nature of a non-economically driven empire. This theory was raised in Hammond's book (1966) – *‘Portugal in Africa 1815-1910’*. In the eyes of Hammond (1966), Portugal colonial ambition was affiliated less to the idea of a non-economical reason, but rather to a certain nostalgic and sentimental wish of recovering the golden past of Portuguese discoveries.

Conversely, Alexandre (2000) proposed an articulated perspective through which the Portuguese colonial presence in Africa should be addressed. The first moment of this comprehensive articulation relates the Portuguese scramble for African territories to the myth of Africa represented as an *‘Eldorado’*. In this respect, the author turned his

attention to the fact that Africa was understood by Portugal to be an unceasing source of health and fertility: “*dominante logo nos primeiros anos do liberalismo, apos 1834, o tema aparece-nos entao em dezenas de artigos, nos periodicos de todas as facções politicas, servindo base a defesa do projecto colonial como via privilegiada para a regeneração da nação*” (2000: 220). The second moment of this articulation focuses on the national feeling attached to the myth of ‘*da herança sagrada*’. Underlying this myth was a national faith on the Portuguese ability in controlling and expanding its own African colonies. Alexandre (2000) has shed light on the psychological impact this belief plays upon the exacerbation of Portuguese nationalism. Basically, he observed two intertwined elements. On the one hand, the sense of Portuguese vulnerability of to external menaces; on the other hand, the survival of the nation based upon an existing empire.

In sum, both economical or socio-psychological aspects of Portuguese presence in Africa should be considered, when addressing a comprehensive examination of its colonial ideology and policy<sup>19</sup> (Alexandre,1992; 2000). In fact, the intertwining of sociological with economical reasons equally reflect the Portuguese attitudes to African native people<sup>20</sup>, as well as their role within the colonial process of growth and development<sup>21</sup>.

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<sup>19</sup> “*Tanto a tese do “imperialismo economico” como a do “colonialismo de prestigio” parecem prejudicadas, como o estara tambem qualquer outra explicação de natureza monocausal que se pretenda sobrepor a um fenomeno tao complexo como a expansao imperial em Africa*” (Alexandre, 2000: 220).

<sup>20</sup> During the first decades of 19<sup>th</sup> century, the image regarding African societies was strongly pervaded by the slavery ideology of the Antigo Regime – an ideology that laid upon the assumption that African societies could not be thought of having any sort of cultural life, therefore the White man human authority and his acts of enslavement were perceived as relevant to bring these societies into a civilised state of living: “*libertando alguns negros deste “undo primitivo”, a compra de escravos no interior – o “resgate”, na velha terminologia colonial, que continuava a aplicar-se – teria de ver-se, ao fim e ao cabo, como um acto humanitario, permitindo salvar a vida aos prisioneiros de guerra,*



Regarding Salazar's colonial intention towards African territories, Newitt (1995) advanced the notion, that for Salazar, Mozambique symbolised all that was wrong with the previous political regime in Portugal – the Republican regime – “*administrative chaos, lack of coherent financial and economic policies, inflation and a worthless currency, foreign domination, and international weakness and humiliation*” (1995: 445).

Economically, Salazar's centralised policy was developed in three main vectors: centralisation, nationalisation, and the reinforcement of the colonial regime on the overseas (Alexandre, 2000). Initiated shortly after the military riot of 1926, and completed through the ‘*Acto Colonial*’ (1930) and the ‘*Carta Organica do Imperio Colonial Portugues*’ (1930) the policy of centralisation implied the retrenchment of the colonial territories' autonomy in the financial domain. After this legislative

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*aos criminosos, sujeitos a tortura e a morte nas suas sociedades de origem, e submetendo-os a influencia benefica da civilização*” (Alexandre, 2000: 221). Parallel to this belief, a different assumption portrayed African populations as possessing a cultural life and this concern was related to the abolition of slavery. Basically, throughout the scramble for Africa and the first decades of 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Portuguese government used the myth of the sacred belief that the Portuguese were deemed to have a historical mission of civilising the native population because of its cultural, intellectual under development. Armindo Monteiro (see Alexandre, 2000: 224), the colonial Minister, emphasised that Portuguese colonial policy should be focused upon the creation of Portuguese tenets among the indigenous population.

<sup>21</sup>As referred to by Newitt (1995) and Alexandre (2000), Antonio Salazar and Marcelo Caetano learnt a great deal from contemporary fascist ideological principles. To both Portuguese fascist ideologues, the use of the term ‘State’ emphasised the power Portugal should have and exercise upon the rights and freedom of the African native population. By adopting the premises necessary to reinforce the Portuguese colonial authority on the African colonies, Antonio Salazar's regime enacted a policy that could be represented as “*o direito da “nação Portuguesa” de “possuir fora do continente europeu ..., por um imperativo categorico da historia, pela sua acção ultramarina em descobertas e conquistas, e pela conjugação e harmonia dos esforços civilizadores das raças, o patrimonio marítimo, territorial, politico e espiritual abrangido na esfera do seu dominio ou influencia – nas palavras de Salazar, que mais tarde se referira a “potencialidade colonial dos Portugueses, não improvisada em tempos recentes, mas radicada pelos seculos na alma da Nação”, entre as “características dominantes do nosso nacionalismo”*” (Alexandre, 2000: 188-89, quoting Salazar's thoughts regarding the Portuguese colonial mission in Africa, and extracted from Salazar (1930), ‘Principios Fundamentais da Revolução Política’, in *Discursos, Vol.I*, pp.77-79).



alteration, the colonies' budgets became subjected to the approval of the '*Ministro das Colonias*', as the decision concerning all colonial issues had been transferred to Lisbon.

P rearranged by the '*Acto Colonial*', the nationalisation of the colonial economy did not imply an exclusion of foreign capital, but rather a very strict control of it by the Portuguese State, restraining either foreign companies action, or the exploitation of mercantile items. In regard to this controlling process, Alexandre (2000) has took notice that "*por efeito destas normas, foram na vigencia do Estado Novo abolidas as companhias majestaticas formadas anteriormente em Moçambique*" (2000: 241; see also, Newitt, 1995).

Finally, the policy of colonial control on the overseas territories reflected the old desire aimed at making the colonies a market reserved for production stemming from the metropolis (Lisbon - Portugal), and a supplier of raw materials necessary for Portuguese industry. Alexandre (2000) notes that this Portuguese policy of colonial empowerment in Mozambique involved a huge effort to expand the culture of cotton, and in its turn, introduced the system of forced cultures, a measure extremely grievous for native Mozambican peasants.

In overall terms, the economic need of self-affirmation as an empire associated with a historical faith in the Portuguese sacred ability to colonising the 'Other', and the expansion of Portuguese sovereignty throughout the conquered African territories were inextricably related to the policy of colonial assimilation of the native population were introduced and applied in Mozambique.

### 4.1.3 *The Portuguese Policy of Assimilation in Mozambique*

Historical evidence (Hedges *et al.*, 1987; Rocha, 1996; Rocha *et al.*, 1986; Carvalho, 1949; Mondlane, 1977; Isaacman *et al.*, 1983) has cast light on the fact that the Portuguese policy of assimilation was irreducibly intertwined with the economic project of Salazar's regime, and with the national conviction of the Portuguese role of bringing the native population economic growth and expansion.

Rocha (1996), refers to the etymology of the word "*assimilation*", as indicating the action or process of becoming similar to something or to someone. However, he argues that in the colonial context, assimilation<sup>22</sup> was not a system that led native individuals to become similar to Portuguese individuals, by adopting their norms,

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<sup>22</sup> As stated by Rocha (1996) it is feasible to identify the application of an assimilation policy, or integration, as an ideological principle recurrent during the colonial Portuguese presence dated from the Liberalismo regime. Contrary to some authors' assumptions, the distinction between "*assimilados*" and "*indigenas*" was not formulated in legal terms by the new Portuguese regime of the New State (1926) – Estado Novo -, but gradually assumed as a practice from the second half of 19<sup>th</sup> century. Until 1885, this practice was assumed as a theory through which the idea was spread that assimilation process should be equally applied both in the metropolis (Portugal) and in the overseas territories – commonly designated by the term "*assimilação uniformizadora*" – standardised assimilation. After 1885, the beginning of conquest operations and colonial occupation led to rigid discriminatory legislation the creation of the Secretaria dos Negocios Indigenas (SNI) em 1907 (Decreto de 23 de Maio de 1907, Boletim Oficial, n.26, de 1.7. 1907, 1 serie, pp. 1- 15). The conception of the previous assimilation system – "*assimilação uniformizadora*" – was subjected to criticisms by those whose beliefs were structured upon the fact that it was not possible to associated the project of a colonial exploitation with the acknowledgement of similar rights given to native and the White community, and which led to the establishing of a new official assimilation policy – "*assimilação tendencial*". Basically, this political reformulation became law in 1907, and officially created the distinction between the "*indigena*" and the "*nao-indigena*". Progressively and until 1930, legislation underwent some alterations, without being modified in essence. Nonetheless, the New State regime went on imposing a more rigorous assimilation policy, concerning the building of an educational system planned and apposite to the colonial purposes. Through it, the colonial government initiated an educational project for to African population, with the help of the Catholic Church (in 1940, with the 'Concordata', the 'Acordo Missionario, and in 1941 with the 'Estatuto Missionario), to serve its economical purposes of colonial exploitation.

After the 50s, the colonial system came to terms with the failure of its educational policy provoked by the need for more skilled workers, by significantly reviewing its assimilation policy. Finally, due to international pressure stemming from the end of the Second World War (1939-1945), and to liberation movements arising throughout the African continent, the Portuguese government abolished the *Estatuto do Indigena* (1961), under which, legally, there were neither "*assimilados*" nor "*indigenas*", but rather Portuguese citizens. Regardless of the suppression of the *Estatuto do Indigena*, its real occurrence came to be sensed after the creation of Mozambique as an independent African nation (1975).



values and customary. On the contrary, the Portuguese intention was to control and culturally alienate the indigenous population to pursue its own imperial goals. Regarding this aspect, Pereira (1986) has made it clear that throughout the Portuguese New State – Estado Novo – the colonial policy guidelines induced the emergence of discourses and anthropological practices most appropriate to the economic interests, as well to the social and political behaviour patterns prevailing during Salazar's colonial policy to the overseas domains: *“as linhas de orientação da política colonial, diversamente assumidas na sua evolução, induziram discursos e práticas antropológicas consentâneas com as solicitações e os interesses económicos, sociais e políticos que relevavam desse modelo colonial”* (Pereira, 1986: 191-235).

#### 4.1.3.1 Education and Religion

As an ideological support of Portuguese colonial ambitions in Africa, the assimilation process needed a suitable educational system that could conceal the real colonial intentions, but simultaneously, legitimise the Portuguese action of culturally depriving the indigenous population of their original customs, norms and values. Following the doctrine that Portuguese colonialism would reduce native individuals from barbarianism and imbue them with a civilised culture, the colonial system developed a structure in which African individuals were subjected to cultural manipulation by economical exploitation to further its own interests. With this regard, the *“indigenas”* were offered with very limited educational skills, because the State argued that the best thing it could do for the native population was to supply them with the ability to do manual work: *“o que melhor temos a fazer para educar e*



*civilizar o indigena é desenvolver praticamente as suas aptidoes do trabalho manual e aproveitá-lo para a exploração da provincia*” (Albuquerque, 1899: 101). Penvenne (1989) has quoted the thoughts of one of colonial authorities in Mozambique (1906-1910), as follows: *“the education to offer the native ought to be above all intended to turn him into a useful labourer – and not to engender the false idea that he is equal to white and has the same rights”* (1989: 266).

This educational policy also mirrored a certain image or representation that colonial ideologues held about the African population. According to the colonial Minister Armindo Monteiro (1935): *“we do not believe that a rapid passage from their African superstitions to our civilization is possible. For us to arrive where we are presently, hundreds of generations before us fought, suffered and learned, minute by minute, the intimate secrets in the fountain of life. It is impossible for them to traverse this distance of centuries in a single jump”* (Monteiro, 1935: 108-9). For instance, Oliveira Martins, one of the most important colonialist thinkers, who clung to the social Darwinism theory of humankind, defined the African as an ‘immature child’ urgently requiring the tutoring of the civilised White man: *“sempre o preto produziu em todos esta impressao: é uma criança adulta. A precocidade, a mobilidade, a agudeza propria das crianças nao lhe faltam; mas essas qualidades infantis nao se transformam em faculdades intellectuais superiores”* (Martins, 1953, first edition 1880). Basically, these representations of the Africans impelled the colonialist to build an educational project through which the ‘Negro’ was given the task of serving the system as a worker and whose instruction should be restricted to the minimum of knowledge and skills. As showed by Alexandre *“a educação deveria ser diferenciada, nao apenas nos meios, mas nos proprios fins: nao cabendo ao*

*“indigena” mais do que o papel de “auxiliar” o colonizador, como trabalhador e operario, a sua instrucao deveria ter um caracter profissional, em escolas primaria agricolas e de arted e oficios”* (Alexandre, 2000: 223; see also, Costa (1903: 60), *‘Estudo sobre a Admnistracao Civil das Nossas Possessoes Africanas’*).

One other intrinsic feature of the Portuguese assimilation policy was the strict collaboration between the State and the Catholic Church. Specifically, after 1940, with the *‘Concordata’* and the *‘Acordo Missionario’*, and the institutionalisation of the *‘Estatuto Missionario’* (1941), the colonial Portuguese State witnessed a boost in its policy of discrimination and alienation of the native population. Under the guise of a Catholic mission, colonialists were able to persuade the population to conform to the rules of subordination and obedience. In fact, the need for importing the Catholic religion and the basics of Portuguese language,<sup>23</sup> was nurtured by a voracious ambition to incorporate the natives into the colonial economy (Sampaio, 1941). Hedges and Rocha (1999) emphasised that the Catholic Church clearly was used to perform services of domination. Furthermore, both authors have argued that beyond the missionary action and the Catholic practices, the intention to oppress the natives and subject them to work the land – *‘machambas’* – as a means of education

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<sup>23</sup> Insistently, the Catholic Church prevented the native population from being helped by the competitive Protestant Church, which frequently resorted to the local dialects – the Bantu - to teach the religion, and through it the natives were able to get in touch with other languages, such as English, and local dialects, to the detriment of Portuguese language. As noted by Hedges and Rocha (1999): “*a proibicao do ensino de moçambicanos nas linguas nacionais, com a excepcao do ensino da religiao, teve o efeito de discriminar as Igrejas protestantes, queue habitualmente utilizavam as linguas bantu nos primeiros anos de escolarizacao, como o meio mais rapido de atingir a alfabetizacao basica, e cujos os missionarios eram, no geral, capazes de comunicar nas linguas nacionais e ingles do que em Portugues*” (1999: 48).

Historical data (Silva, 2001) have shown that through these Protestant missions, many African men and women were given the opportunity to improve their educational skills, in contrast with what Portuguese colonial State usually offered the natives.



payment<sup>24</sup>, and as a way of paying their taxes. Following this aim, the colonial State enlarged the building of '*Escolas para Indigenas*', a scheme where the indigenous individuals were offered a rudimentary education<sup>25</sup>. The '*Estatuto do Indigena*' was subjected to some alterations in 1954<sup>26</sup> (Decreto-Lei n.39 666) – '*novo Estatuto dos Indigenas das Provincias Portuguesas da Guine, Angola e Moçambique*', and the formal abolition of the '*Indigenato*' in 1961, but its elimination finally took place only after the emergence of the new Mozambican State, during the 70s.

#### 4.1.3.2 The 'Assimilados' and the Portuguese Assimilation Policy

Not satisfied with its assimilation policy through which the majority of the Mozambican population was categorised as '*indigena*', the Portuguese colonial State intended to re-classify individuals whose behaviours were deemed to imitate the

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<sup>24</sup> As observed by Samora Machel, the former Mozambican President after independence (1975-1986): "*as crianças eram obrigadas a cultivar as machambas dos professores como forma de pagamento dos seus estudos*" (Noticias, 1985, 26<sup>th</sup> October: 30 - 'Que se sintam crianças em toda a acepção da palavra: Presidente Samora, discursando na abertura da Conferencia dos Continuadores da Revolução Moçambicana'.

<sup>25</sup> As also described by Samora Machel: "*para que nao aprendessemos mais do que aquilo que eles queriam, os colonialistas preparavam para nos, professores moçambicanos, com poucos conhecimentos. Esses professores eram formados em centros proprios que se chamavam "Centros de Habilitação de Professores Indigenas". Os colonislistas nao nos deixavam conhecer muito para nao conhecermos os segredos da tecnica e da ciencia, para continuarmos ignorantes, na miseria, dominados pelo obscurantismo e assim dependermos das esmolas e da vontade deles*". (Noticias, 1985, 26th October: 30 – 'Que se sintam crianças em toda a acepção da palavra: Presidente Samora, discursando na abertura da Conferencia dos Continuadores da Revolução Moçambicana'.

<sup>26</sup> These alterations were justified by the external pressure Portugal was being confronted with. At a political level, after the end of Second World War (1939-1945), and with the publication of the '*Carta das Nações Unidas*' (1945), the Portuguese colonial situation was being perceived as unbearable by the international community. Moreover, with the African liberation movements moving steadily throughout the African continent – the PanAfricanism, the Negritude Movement – the Portuguese government understood that an adequate colonial vocabulary should be created in order to subdue the emergence of nationalist movements of African autonomy in Mozambique and other colonies. In 1951, to protect its African territories, the Portuguese State adopted a new vocabulary, by replacing the terms 'colony', 'colonial', 'colonisation' for '*provincias ultramarinas*', '*ultramarino*', and '*integration*'.



living and thinking patterns of Portuguese culture. Commonly they were designated as the '*assimilados*': those who the system recognised as having the ability to partake the same rights and duties as white Portuguese citizens.

In reality, the term '*assimilados*' encompassed two groups of individuals. On the one hand, those who were considered as '*assimilados*' *de facto*, normally of mixed-race between the white man and black woman, also called as '*brancos da terra*' (Penvenne, 1989: 264). Regardless of Penvenne's (1989) indication, Rocha (1996) demonstrated that theoretically the term '*assimilado*' did not include the majority of the mulatto population, in fact, some of them were compelled to apply for the '*assimilado*' status<sup>27</sup>.

Alternatively, some black African individuals qualified for some criteria of Portuguese acceptability. In this respect, Penvenne stated that "*their challenge in turn prompted the formulation of yet another exceptional category: assimilado (culturally assimilated black or honorary non-native)*" (1989: 256), or the '*indigenas destribalizados*' (Rocha, 1996).

As referred to by Rocha (1996), the educational skills provided to this tiny minority was conceived from a paternalistic scheme of assimilation. The State wished to use these individuals to enhance its principle of mixing with other cultures and races; to

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<sup>27</sup> During the 40s, a substantial number of mullatoes asked for the '*assimilado*' status. See the '*Processos de Assimilação de Indigenas, 1917-1957*', Arquivo Historico de Moçambique, Direcção dos Serviços de Negocios Estrangeiros, DSNI, boxes 1636 to 1640.

make of them faithful followers of Portuguese nationalism<sup>28</sup>; to serve the system with loyalty, and sustain its structure of racism, discrimination, and economical exploitation.

At a formal level, the assimilated African population was acknowledged with the same rights and equal access to education, jobs and wages similar to the white Portuguese community. Notwithstanding the colonial discourse, statistical information has reported that in 1936 (information extracted from Rocha, 1996: 328), at the only existing high school in Mozambique – Lourenço Marques<sup>29</sup> - of a total amount of 507 students, only 33 were mulattoes, 40 were Indians and 1 black, the majority was composed of white students (Rocha, 1996: 328).

Mondlane (1983) observed that culturally and economically, the social position of the ‘*assimilados*’ was bluntly inferior in comparison to the white Portuguese population. Emphasising this assumption, Mondlane (1983) described the position of the ‘*assimilado*’ in that he: *“finds himself at a disadvantage: he always had to do better than a Portuguese child. One girl, who was at technical secondary school in Lourenço Marques, commented: “the Portuguese didn’t treat African and Portuguese pupils in the same way. Sometimes the discrimination was quite clear. For instance, they always gave the Mozambican lower marks”*<sup>30</sup> (1983: 49).

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<sup>28</sup>As indicated by Rocha (1996: 324): *“entre os assimilados, o grande amor da patria Portuguesa (“a Patria de todos nos”) desenvolveu-se, a par de uma fidelidade sem equívocos aos valores coloniais, manifestada muitas vezes sob uma forma muito dura por um profundo racismo face aos seus irmãos de cor (mas não irmãos de condição), e assumindo por vezes aspectos ridículos e trágicos de imitação”*.

<sup>29</sup> The name of Mozambique’s capital. In 1976, the name was replaced by Maputo.

<sup>30</sup> See Newitt’s work (1995: 477), regarding the social marginalisation assimilated Africans were subjected to within the colonial State structure.



Economically, the assimilated population also sensed difficulties and obstacles inherently related to the contradictions of a system, that was structured upon social and racial discrimination and racism. As reported by Ferreira (1970), and Castro (1980), from 1950 to 1960 the white Portuguese population witnessed growth from 71 850 to 115 000 individuals. By facing this population expansion, the Portuguese colonial State repeatedly favoured the white community, giving them better jobs, with better salaries and good housing conditions.

This policy of protection, evidently brought about a colonial practice focused on hampering the assimilated individuals of obtaining the privileges offered to Portuguese individuals. According to Newitt (1995), *“although Portuguese law had never recognised a colour bar ... and made provision for people of all races to acquire the status of nao-indigena or assimilado, restrictions of all kinds had been placed in the way of African or mestizos acquiring posts in the administration or with private firms or developing business which might challenge the economic position of white”* (1995: 477). Following Newitt’s indications (1995), as the colonial State become more developed and its economy grew: *“almost all the jobs in the modern sector were taken by immigrant Portuguese or Indians”* (1995: 477).

Taking into consideration historical examples regarding the colonial Portuguese practice, Rocha (1996) argued that the emergence of contradictions within the colonial system inevitably produced a policy carefully oriented to prevent the development of a small African bourgeoisie, and a policy which simultaneously demanded from its subjects completely cultural and social obedience to Portuguese



norms of conduct (see, Mondlane, 1995: 49<sup>31</sup>). Moreover, it was a system in which the real intention was to deprive these individuals of self-esteem, confidence and pride<sup>32</sup>, by inducing them with a sentiment of submission towards whites. As revealed by Margarido (1980), the multiplication of negative comments in relation to the African population was undoubtedly a colonial strategy of disgracing and despising, in order to maintain its structure of cultural alienation and human exploitation untouched. In this regard, Bhabha (1994) has commented that: *“an important feature of colonial discourse is its dependence on the concept of ‘fixity’ in the ideological construction of otherness. Fixity, as the sign of cultural/historical/racial difference in the discourse of colonialism, is a paradoxical mode of representation: it connotes rigidity and an unchanging order as well as disorder, degeneracy and daemonic repetition”* (1994: 66).

Effectively, a system structured upon a racial and discriminatory policy fraught with inconsistencies has impelled the emergence of human beings profoundly subjected to conflicting identities, desires and demands, which at its core were neither African nor

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<sup>31</sup> “O proprio conceito de “assimilação” nao é tao racial e liberal como os seus apologistas sugerem. Ele implica a nao aceitação do africano como africano. Em troca de privilegios duvidosos ..., de acordo com a lei ele [the ‘assimilado’] deve viver segundo um estilo inteiramente europeu; nunca deve falar a sua propria lingua, e nao deve visitar as casas dos seus familiares nao assimilados. Uma das contradições absurdas do sistema é que, apesar de nao receber o mesmo tratamento que um branco, exige-se que ele se identifique completamente com os brancos. Um assimilado conta: “Nos ultimos anos da escola secundaria, eu era praticamente o unico africano que restava na turma. Costumava ter notas inferiores aos rapazes brancos fazendo o mesmo trabalho. Os meus colegas brancos nao viam nada de errado nisto. Ao mesmo tempo, conversavam a minha frente sobre “aqueles pretos ignorantes”, referindo-se aos nao assimilados africanos, e nao se apercebiam de como isto era doloroso para mim como assimilado” (Mondlane, 1995: 48-9).

<sup>32</sup> “Pretendia-se, na verdade, romper os laços dessas comunidades com o seu passado, a sua historia, desagregar a sua propria visao do mundo, alienar as formas de expressao que haviam desenvolvido. Deste modo se impedia que os elementos estruturantes de uma personalidade cultural propria, dentro de uma logica do desenvolvimento das sociedades, se transformassem na base aglutinadora de uma unidade nacional” (Rocha, 1996: 348-9).

Portuguese. Ironically, the inconsistency of Portuguese assimilation policy<sup>33</sup> and its paternalistic<sup>34</sup> practice, instigated within the assimilated population the emergence of poets, writers, men and women<sup>35</sup> who progressively became the leading fathers and mothers of the liberation movement of Mozambique, and of the subsequent decolonisation process.

#### ***4.1.4 The Mozambican Struggle for Independence and the Colonial War (1964-1974)***

The Mozambican struggle for independence was not an isolated movement, on the vast African continent. In fact, the nationalist fervour sweeping throughout other African countries clearly pervaded the minds of those Africans wishing to overcome the Portuguese colonial presence in Mozambique. African nationalist movements had already started, and whose leading figures, such as Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana (Ghana became independent in 1957, under Kwame Nkrumah), and Julius Nyerere of Tanzania (Tanzania witnessed its political freedom in 1961, and in 1962 Julius

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<sup>33</sup> In accordance with Pollanah's (1986) view of colonial practice: "*foram as restrições a liberdade de movimento de pessoas e grupos africanos, que passavam despercebidos aos olhos da sociedade colonial, mas que os Africanos foram obrigados a amargar em silêncio. Completamente desamparado, o homem de cor não tinha quem por ele falasse e protestasse contra a iniquidade do tratamento. Seria através da imprensa, pelo esforço e ousadia de alguns Africanos cultos, habéis no manejo da língua portuguesa, que alguns problemas, relacionados com a discriminação social por motivo da cor da pele e da origem racial, acabariam por ser conhecidos e surpreender a opinião pública*" (1986: 8-9).

<sup>34</sup> See, Claudia Castelo (1998), '*O modo português de estar no mundo – O luso-tropicalismo e a ideologia colonial portuguesa (1931-1961)*'. Porto, Biblioteca das Ciências do Homem, Ed. Afrontamento.

<sup>35</sup> Matusse (informal conversation, held in Maputo, April 2002), clearly emphasised that the African men's and women's liberation agency should be associated with the colonialist culture and its intrinsic contradictions, limitations and paternalistic view of the African people. As commented by Matusse (1998) in his work '*A construção da imagem de Moçambique em Jose Craveirinha, Mia Couto e Ungulani Ba Ka Khosa*', the problem of African people's identity, both from colonial and post-colonial perspectives, is the intimate relationship between their identity and the Portuguese assimilation policy. It is important to bear in mind that the praxis of African men and women only becomes relevant and justified by taking into consideration the prevailing colonial picture.



Nyerere become Tanzania's President) had by now galvanised those movements and materialised their intentions of freedom (Newitt, 1995).

In Mozambique, it was possible to identify an early nationalism amongst a minority, predominantly urban assimilated Africans. In 1920, the *Liga Africana* was established in Lisbon (Mondlane, 1995) as an organisation aimed at uniting the very few assimilated Africans students, who had come to the metropolis. During the 20s an organisation called *Gremio Africano* was formed and later on evolved to become the *Associação Africana* (Hedges and Rocha, 1999). However, it was only throughout the 50s that it was possible to witness significant activities against the colour bar restrictions imposed by the colonial State, although the message underlying these liberation activities had been previously expressed by the newspaper *Brado Africano* in 1932, addressed to the colonialist men:

*“We’ve had a mouthful of it. We’ve had ... to suffer the terrible consequences of your follies and demands ...we can no longer put up with the pernicious effects of your political and administrative decisions. From now on we refuse to make ever greater and ever useless sacrifices .... Enough. ... we insist that you carry out your fundamental duties not with laws and decrees but with acts .... We want to be treated in the same way that you are. We do not aspire to your refined education ... even less do we aspire to a life dominated by the idea of robbing your brother .... We aspire to our ‘savage state’ which, however, fills your mouths and your pockets. And we demand something ... bread and light .... We repeat that we do not want hunger and thirst or poverty or law discrimination based on colour ...”* (quoted in Mondlane, 1983: 106-7).



The new Mozambican resistance inspired a movement stemming from the domain of the arts<sup>36</sup>, which began during the 40s and inflamed the minds and hearts of poets (Jose Craveirinha; Noemia de Sousa), painters (Malangatana; Bertina Lopes), the short stories writers (Luis Bernardo Honwana), and of other writers who played a dynamic role in the Mozambican liberation process, such as Marcelino dos Santos (also known as Kalungano), Sergio Vieira, and Fernando Ganhao. Mozambican political poetry, throughout the 40s and 50s, recurrently drew upon three main themes: the reaffirmation of Africa as the mother country, spiritual home, and the soil of the future Mozambican nation; the rise and re-awakening of Africa as an allegoric image of the somnambulist state of spirit of African men and women<sup>37</sup>; and

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<sup>36</sup>For detailed information see the following works: Chabal, P. *et al.* (1996), *The postcolonial literature of Lusophone Africa*. London, Hurst & Company; Peres, P. (1997), *Transculturation and resistance in Lusophone African narrative*. State of Florida, University Press of Florida; Laban, M. (1998), *Moçambique – Encontro com escritores, vol.III*. Porto, Fundação Eng. Antonio de Almeida; Sepulveda, M.C., and Salgado, M.T. (eds.) (2000), *Africa & Brasil: Litres em laços*. Rio de Janeiro, Ed. Atlantica; Saute, N. (1998), *Os habitantes da memoria – Entrevistas com escritores moçambicanos*. Embaixada de Portugal, Centro Cultural Portugues; Ferreira, M. (1985), *No reino de Caliban, III – Moçambique*. Lisboa, In-Cm; Margarido, A. (1980), *Estudos sobre literaturas das nações africanas de lingua portuguesa*. Lisboa, A Regra do Jogo; Venancio, J. C. (1992), *Literatura e poder na Africa lusofona*. Lisboa, Instituto de Cultura e Lingua Portuguesa, Ministerio da Educação, Dialogo: Convergencia; Hamilton, R. (1984), *Literatura africana, Literatura necessaria II – Moçambique, Cabo Verde, Guine-Bissau, Sao Tome e Principe*. Lisboa, Edições 70; and Laranjeira, P. (1995a), *Literaturas africanas de expressao portuguesa*. Lisboa, Universidade Aberta; (1995b), *A negritude africana de lingua portuguesa*. Porto, Ed. Afrontamento.

<sup>37</sup> As noticed by Chabal (1996) “of the writers who might be regarded as the so-called precursors of Mozambican literature ..., Rui de Noronha (1909-1943) ..., a mestiço of African and Indian origins, left a collection of poems, published posthumously as *Sonetos* (1949) [in which Rui de Noronha revealed] his unenviable personal plight and his many connections with the white society .... But, his poetry also shows his sensitivity to the plight of mestiços and black in the cultural context and, though not political, is in part a call for the cultural re-awakening of an excessively passive Africa” (1996: 31-2). As regarded by Ferreira (1985), one of the most known Rui de Noronha’s poems is the poem ‘*Surge et Ambula*’ (integrally quoted in Ferreira, 1985: 37):

*“Dormes! e o mundo marcha, ò patria do misterio.  
Dormes! e o mundo avança, o tempo vai seguindo ...  
O progresso caminha ao alto de um hemisferio  
E no outro tu dormes o sono teu infindo ...*

*A selva faz de ti sinistro eremiterio,  
onde sozinha, à noite, a fera anda rugindo.  
A terra e a escuridão tem aqui o seu imperio  
E tu, ao tempo alheia, ò Africa, dormindo ...*

finally, the sufferings of ordinary people, surviving under the colonial system of the 'Regime do Indigenato'.

In 'Grito Negro' (1980), the poet Jose Craverinha produced, in accordance with Mondlane's (1983) opinion, one of the most vibrant testimonies regarding African cultural alienation and revolt (quoted in Mondlane, 1983: 112):

*"I am coal!  
You tear me brutally from the ground  
and make of me your mine, boss  
I am coal  
and you burn me, boss  
to serve you forever as your driving force  
but not forever, boss*

*I am coal  
and must burn  
and consume everything in the heat of my combustion  
I am coal  
and must burn, exploited  
burn alive like tar, my brother*

*....  
I am coal  
and must burn  
and consume everything in the fire of my combustion  
Yes, boss  
I will be your coal".*

The devastating colonial assimilation policy, was literally explored to portray the 'torn' feeling of the assimilated individuals. Recurrently, the poetry of Jose Craveirinha, Noemia de Sousa, and of Marcelino dos Santos, have been regarded as the common places where the 'assimilado' assumed the central role, and through him/her the poets sang, as well, of their own cultural manipulation, the tears of their

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*Desperta. Ja no alto adejam negros corvos  
Ansiosos de cair e de beber aos sorvos  
Teu sangue ainda quente, em carne de sonambula ...*

*Desperta. O teu dormir ja foi mais què terreno ...  
Ouve a voz do Progresso, este outro Nazareno  
Que a mao te estende e diz – 'Africa, surge et ambula'".*



sorrow, the search for their African ancestry (and ‘*Negritude*’)<sup>38</sup>, history, past and memories, and exorcised the malevolent discourse and agency of the paternalistic white man. Noemia de Sousa, in her poem ‘*Black Blood*’, depicted an ontological search for the Black mother-figure, as a representation of the poet’s African purity (before being corrupted by the viciousness of the White man), roots and soils, and the inner crying for forgiveness:

*“My Africa, strange and wild  
My virgin raped  
My mother!*

*How long have I walked  
exiled from you, a stranger distant and self absorbed  
In these city streets, pregnant with a foreign race?  
Mother! Forgive me!*

*Mother! My mother Africa  
Of slave songs in the moonlight  
I cannot CANNOT deny  
the black, the savage blood  
you gave me*

*For the strongest of all in me  
it floods my soul, my veins  
through it  
I live, I laugh, I endure  
Mother!”* (quoted in Mondlane, 1983: 53-4).

Mozambican poetry also aimed to articulate the political revolt which had been suppressed for so long, and to reach out for the paramount desire of all African Mozambican men and women: the birth of Mozambique as an African country and an independent nation. In this respect, Jose Craveirinha’s poem, ‘*Manifesto*’ (Hedges and Chilundo, 1999), foretold the unity and cohesion of the future Mozambican

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<sup>38</sup> Chabal (1996) has considered that: “*the negritude phase is, of course, universal in the evolution of African literature, even if it has taken various forms and has been called by entirely different names. In a nutshell, what I mean by negritude is simply the attempt to recover, redeem and proclaim African indigenous culture as the basis for African literature. Negritude is thus the most overt and explicit phase of cultural nationalism to be found in modern African literature. Although in the Portuguese African colonies negritude never took the amplified and exalted form it assumed in the French African empire ...*” (Chabal, 1996: 41).



nation: “*é nas fronteiras de agua do Rovuma ao Incomati*”<sup>39</sup> (quoted in Hedges and Chilundo, 1999: 229). In his poem, ‘*Poema do futuro cidadao*’, Jose Craveirinha unequivocally unveiled his nationalist stance (Hedges and Chilundo, 1999), by intentionally using the words ‘nation’, ‘love’, and ‘citizen’:

*“Vim de qualquer parte  
de uma Nação que ainda nao existe.  
Vim que estou aqui !*

*Nao nasci apenas eu  
nem tu nenhum outro...  
mas Irmão  
Mas  
tenho amor para dar as mãos-cheias.  
Amor do que sou  
e nada mais  
E  
tenho no coração  
gritos que nao são meus somente  
porque venho de um país que ainda  
nao existe.*

*Ah ! Tenho meu Amor a todos para  
dar  
do que sou.  
Eu !  
Homem qualquer  
cidadão de uma Nação que ainda nao  
existe”* (quoted in Hedges and Chilundo, 1999: 229).

As predicted by the poet Jose Craveirinha, and by many African men and women, a Mozambican nation did re-awake, as an independent country. Nonetheless, its re-

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<sup>39</sup> The Rovuma and the Incomati are two Mozambican rivers, one in the north and one in the south of the country. Certainly, the poet wanted to metaphorically communicate his desire of national unity and brotherhood.

Regarding the issue of brotherhood, Noemia de Sousa, has narrated in her poem ‘*Lição*’, the false feeling of ‘brotherhood’ constructed by the colonial man:

*“Ensinarão-lhe na missão, / quando era pequenino: “somos todos filhos de Deus; / cada Homem / é irmão doutro Homem”.*

*Disseram-lhe isto na missão, / quando era pequenino*

*...*

*E então, uma vez, inocentemente, / olhou para um Homem e disse: “Irmão...” / Mas o Homem palido fulminou-o / duramente / com seus olhos de odio / e respondeu-lhe: “Negro”* (quoted in Hedges and Chilundo, 1999: 277).

birth brought with it several conflicts between the colonial State and the Mozambican heralds of the emergent nationalist liberation movement – the so-called FRELIMO (Front for the Liberation of Mozambique).

#### ***4.1.5 FRELIMO and the Mozambican Struggle for Independence***

In 1949, the secondary school students formed the '*Nucleo de Estudantes Secundarios de Moçambique*' (NESAM). Likewise, the early Mozambican organisations NESAM's effectiveness and reactive capacity was severely limited by its tiny membership. However, under the guise of promoting social and cultural activities, this organisation was able to take an important contribution to the Mozambican revolution, by spreading nationalist ideas among the African educated youth. As reported by Mondlane (1983): "*NESAM provided the only opportunity to study and discuss Mozambique in its own right and not as an appendage of Portugal. And, most important perhaps, by cementing personal contacts, it established a nation-wide network of communication, which extended among old members as well as those still at school*" (1983: 114).

Although liberation activities have been promoted over time, it was the famous Mueda Case (1960), where a serious confrontation took place between African workers and the white colonial exploiters, that instigated the emergence of local and cultural liberation movements throughout Mozambique. Following this historical twist, three separate, narrow and ethnically grounded movements appeared: MANU<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> MANU's terminology was criticised by Mondlane (1983) and defined as Mozambican African National Union.



(Mozambique Makonde Union); UDENAMO (National Democratic Union of Mozambique), and UNAMI (National African Union of Independent Mozambique).

MANU was formed in 1961 by a small number of Mozambicans, who were working in Tanganyika (Tanzania) and in Kenya. The conception of this movement arose from a cluster of Makonde self-help networking and cultural associations. As documented by Newitt (1995) *“of these movements only MANU attempted to work inside Mozambique, and it was a crowd of its supporters who gathered to petition the local Portuguese administrator at Mueda in June 1960”* (1995: 521).

UDENAMO was established in 1960, with its headquarters based in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), and comprised of supporters coming exclusively from the southern part of Mozambique.

UNAMI based in Malawi, was composed of exiled people from Tete region working in Malawi. As argued by Newitt (1995) *“these early movements achieved little except the mere fact of existing, but for the first time they allowed a black Mozambican leadership to emerge and were a forum where the initial ideas about the future of the country could be tested”* (1995: 521). By adhering to Newitt’s comments, Isaacman *et al.* (1983) have observed that *“small in numbers, detached from internal bases of support, lacking of a coherent strategy, and periodically engaging in divisive exile politics, the three organisations hardly posed a credible threat to the Portuguese regime”* (1983: 81).



In an endeavour to give cohesion to these fragmented movements, in 1962 the Tanzanian president, Julius Nyerere (1962-1985), invited the three parties to establish its headquarters in Dar es Salam (Tanzania), and work toward the building of an unified movement. Urged by Julius Nyerere, Kwame Nkrumah, and the CONCP (Conference of Nationalist Organisations of Portuguese Colonies), the three movements agreed to merge into the new born Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO), under the leadership of Eduardo Mondlane (1962-1969).

FRELIMO had to face Three challenging questions, shortly after its official inception as an unified movement:

- a) 'who was the enemy?';
- b) 'what were the best tactics for waging an armed struggle?';
- c) 'what type of alternative Mozambican society could be built after the struggle for independence?'.

The answers to these enquiries brought about acute and sharp divisions<sup>41</sup> within the FRELIMO party. Some FRELIMO leaders perceived the struggle mainly as a racial problem, because for them only the white colonialist was the enemy, while others insisted on defining the enemy, as being the "*the fascist colonial administration*" (Machel, 1975).

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<sup>41</sup> As informed by Opello (1976): "*almost before the ink was dry on the document signed in 1962 which created FRELIMO, there was signs of internal conflict. A number of expulsions from the Central Committee in the first year marked the beginning of a series of schisms, revolts, and assassinations as elite factions competed for control of the party and its highest prestige and power relations*". (1976: 71).

FRELIMO's efforts to accomplish internal cohesion and unity, were often hampered by regional and racial resentment and competition. As a result, those protecting the racial assumption clearly refused the participation of whites, Indians, as well as, that of mix race members. In this aspect, Opello (1976) has documented that "*resentful and suspicious of dos Santos* [Marcelino dos Santos, FRELIMO's secretary of external affairs] *because he was a mestiço, some black Mozambicans, primarily from groups situated in the central and northern regions, charged that dos Santos was not a Mozambican at all but a CapoVerdean and should, therefore, be expelled from the party*" ( 1976: 72). Opello (1976) identified two main aspects that have contributed to conflicting opinions within FRELIMO party.

Firstly, the 'dysrhythmic' (see Whitaker, 1967) aspect whereby the effects of socio-economic and educational advantages that Portuguese colonialism gave to the southern ethnolinguistics groups (as a result of their closeness to Lourenço Marques), to the detriment of the northern groups, were perceived as a source of regional stratification and animosity: "*groups from the north and central regions, such as the Makonde and Yao, are considered by the southerners as 'backward', 'primitive', and 'traditional' while groups in the south, like the Thonga, are considered by northerners to be 'aggressive', 'domineering', and 'corrupt'. Ethnolinguistic differences are thus simplified into a perception of regional differentiation*" (Opello, 1976: 69)<sup>42</sup>.

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<sup>42</sup> Opello (1976) specifically documented that over the 1962-69 period: "*the general picture is that middle-educated assimilados predominately from ethnolinguistic groups located in the central and northern districts of the country, primarily Nyanja, Makua-Lowe, and Makonde, opposed more highly educated mestiços and assimilados largely from ethnolinguistic groups located in the southern districts, especially the Shangana, for positions of authority within the movements*" (1976: 71).



Secondly, the pyramidal social structure established under Portuguese colonialism tended to produce racial cleavages among Mozambicans. A direct consequence of this racial division, as observed by Opello (1976), induced Mozambicans “*to perceive the finest of distinctions among themselves. Unacculturated Africans inclined to see both assimilados and mestiços as representing Portuguese domination, while the assimilados contrasted themselves with the mestiços who were seen as its direct agents*” (1976: 70).

In spite of its internal turmoil, FRELIMO decided to launch a campaign against longstanding Portuguese economic exploitation. As narrated by Newitt (1995) on 25 September 1964, FRELIMO attacked the Portuguese base at Chai in northern Mozambique, and at the same time “*issuing a proclamation and a call for arms*” (1995: 523).

#### ***4.1.6 The Colonial War, and the Decolonisation Process (1964-1974)***

It has been argued that both the outbreak of the colonial war (1964), and the decolonisation process (1974) were distinct moments in the history of Mozambique. However, Polanah (1986) suggests that this critical period can be viewed from two perspectives: the history of colonisation as written by the Portuguese undoubtedly put emphasis on the development and progress brought by the white men to Africa. Following this argument, it is reasonable to accept the fact that former African Portuguese territories were decolonised. An alternative stance from an African position, has enhanced the history of Africa and its past, by taking in consideration the heroism of African men and women who have eventually brought Africa to its deemed fate of freedom and liberty (Polanah, 1986).



Regarding this debate, Correia (1994)<sup>43</sup> articulates the phases that formed the basis of decolonisation as a synthesis of the following processes: a) African nationalistic awareness and re-awakening; b) the liberation struggle; c) the transfer of power; d) the independence phase; finally e) the consolidation of African national identity.

In contrast with Correia's position, Margarido (1980) has debated the idea that Mozambican freedom was granted by the Portuguese colonial State because they had no alternative; the supremacy of Mozambican struggle had shown to the colonialists its superiority over the Portuguese system and army. So, 'decolonisation' in fact was a Portuguese retreat rather than a generous relinquishment of their control. As clarified by Margarido (1980), the Portuguese did not decolonise the Africans, but it was the Africans that overthrew the Portuguese, by winning the war.

Aquino de Bragança, a prominent FRELIMO's intellectual, asserted that in Mozambique there was no place for a decolonisation process, and justified his position (and FRELIMO's stance) by indicating the Portuguese army's and government's incapacity to concede Mozambican people their freedom: *"ja ...tive oportunidade de afirmar que em Moçambique nao houve descolonizacao .... Descolonizar implica outorgar a independencia ao colonizado .... Ora no caso de Moçambique toda a iniciativa pertencia a FRELIMO e nao ao colonizador .... O*

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<sup>43</sup> Correia (1994) has urged that we approach both the colonial and the decolonisation process as a historical whole: *"uma analise sistematizada e integrada dos actores e dos seus comportamentos, dos condicionamentos politicos e geograficos, dos objectivos e resultados, permite concluir que um processo de descolonizacao compreende cinco fases encadeadas que no seu conjunto, configuram o ciclo de descolonizacao. Pelo papel que cumprem dentro deste ciclo chamo, a cada uma delas, fase da tomada de consciencia, fase da luta de libertacao, fase da transferencia de poder, fase da independencia e fase da consolidacao da identidade nacional"* (1994: 48).

*exercito portugues (apos o 'No Gordio' em 1970) passa entao a defensiva e o Estado Colonial perde condicoes para outorgar a independencia"* (1981, quoted in Rita-Ferreira, 1998: 131).

Samora Machel (1975 – 1986) – the former Mozambican President after independence – during the 11<sup>th</sup> Summit Conference of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), held in Mogadishu (1974), stated that: *"by recognising our organisations as the authentic representatives of our peoples and the legitimacy of our struggle, the United Nations has given concrete expression to the reality brought home by the armed struggle for freedom: the peoples under colonial domination have earned their right of self-determination and affirmed their inalienable right to national independence. The Portuguese Armed Forces Movement itself realised this and therefore did not wait for a referendum from Marcello Caetano, but took over power, thus creating the conditions for genuine democratic life in Portugal"* (1974, *Mozambican Revolution*, 59 (April-June): 21)<sup>44</sup>.

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<sup>44</sup> Also during the official transition from Portuguese to Mozambican government (1974, 20<sup>th</sup> September), on Samora's *'Mensagem ao Povo de Moçambique – Por ocasio da tomada de posse do Governo de Transição em 20 de Setembro de 1974'*, was clearly expressed FRELIMO's approach to decolonisation: *"a descolonização nao significa nem transferencia geografica dos centros de decisao de Lisboa para Lourenço Marques, o que em suma propunha-se fazer ja o regime deposto, nem continuacao do regime de opressao exercido desta vez por governantes de pele preta, o que corresponde a esquemas neo-colonialistas.*

*Descolonizar o Estado significa essencialmente dismantelar o sistema politico, administrativo, cultural, financeiro, economico, educacional, juridico, e outros que como parte integrante do Estado colonial se destinavam exclusivamente a impor as massas a dominacao estrangeira e a vontade dos exploradores"* (Machel, 1974: 11).



#### 4.1.6.1 *Revolution in Portugal and Decolonisation<sup>45</sup>: A Brief Approach*

Historically, the winds sweeping throughout Portugal firmly contributed to the legitimacy of what Samora Machel referred to as “*peoples ...right of self-determination ...and ... inalienable right to national independence*” (1974, *Mozambican Revolution*, 59 (April-June): 21). In Portugal an increasing scepticism with regard to the colonial war (see Ricardo, 1989; Fabiao, 1990; Castro, 1994; Afonso, 1994; Dores, 1994; Lourenço, 1994; Taborda, 1994)<sup>46</sup> and the enduring colonial domination was perceived as something to be fought and eliminated. In addition, contrasting voices to Salazar’s resistant regime prompted the appearance of political movements that wished to remove the fascist system from power, and to give Portugal a democratic government. Among these movements was the famous MFA - Portuguese Armed Forces Movement – that “*identified strongly with the nationalist movements in Africa and shared with them a belief that Salazarism was the common enemy*” (Newitt, 1995: 538).

On 25<sup>th</sup> April 1974, the so-called April Revolution took place in Portugal, and assumed a huge impact in Mozambique and other African Portuguese colonies (Correia, 1994) – Angola, Cape Verde, Guiné, and Sao Tome. As reported by Newitt (1995): “*inside Mozambique the April revolution brought confusion and chaos. The army and the civil government were uncertain of what role they were to play and even from whom they were to take orders*” (1995: 538). Progressively, Portuguese colonialists realised that there was no more room for a Portuguese colonial presence

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<sup>45</sup> This sub-title was extracted from Newitt’s (1995) book – ‘*A history of Mozambique*’.

<sup>46</sup> See Ribeiros’ works (1998, 1999) on Portuguese colonial war literature.



in Mozambique, no more reasons for the empire that “*was of great propaganda value to Salazar’s regime*” (Newitt, 1995: 535).

In June 1974 the first negotiations were set up between the Portuguese and FRELIMO, and on 7<sup>th</sup> September 1974, the Lusaka Accord was signed allowing for the rapid transfer of power to FRELIMO “*without prior elections and with only nine months of transitional government*” (Newitt, 1995: 539).

#### ***4.1.7 The Mozambican Transitional Government: The Definition of a New Mozambican Society (from 1974, 7<sup>th</sup> September to 1975, 25<sup>th</sup> June)***

FRELIMO’s ideas and projects were still in-progress, when urgent problems were demanding attention and concrete solutions. Those problems were: a) the development of national unification, and political mobilisation of popular masses; b) the economical re-building and restructuration; c) national and popular authority represented by FRELIMO, and its Party Committees<sup>47</sup> (which would ensure FRELIMO’s principles of ‘Discipline, Order and Political Conscience’); d) political conscience *versus* racial and ethnic stratification, regionalism and tribalism.

As observed by Isaacman *et al.* (1983), to a certain extent, Mozambique like other ex-colonised countries was sensing the real deficiencies created and left by the

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<sup>47</sup> “*E a linha da FRELIMO, forjada na luta intransigente pela defesa dos interesses das massas, que deve guiar a acção do Governo, é a FRELIMO que deve orientar o governo e as massas. Ao nível de cada fabrica, de cada repartição, de cada serviço, de cada estabelecimento comercial, ao nível de cada empresa agricola devem constituir-se Comites de Partido que ponham em applicação as palavras de ordem da FRELIMO e do Governo de Transição, libertando a iniciativa e pondo em movimento a capacidade criadora das massas*” (Samora Machel (1974: 8), ‘*Mensagem ao Povo de Moçambique – Por Ocasiao da Tomada de Posse do Governo de Transição em 20 de Setembro de 1974*’.

colonialists<sup>48</sup>: massive illiteracy; poverty, unfamiliarity with democratic processes; racial and ethnic cleavages, obscurantism, and the constant threat of the enduring Portuguese bureaucracy. In 1972, in a document entitled – ‘*FRELIMO – Segunda década, Novos Combates*’ -, it was possible to see that FRELIMO was aware of the need to build a new Mozambican society, whose basis had to be totally different from all the structures left by the Portuguese: social, administrative, bureaucratic, and economic, *etc.* Moreover, the creation of a newborn Mozambican society had also to imply an ontological and cultural conception of the new African men and women.

With regard to the new Mozambican society, it seemed logical and reasonable to FRELIMO that popular power had to be the core principle. Making an example of this intention, FRELIMO utterly refuted the existence of private property. As an alternative, the party proposed that popular power should be the foundation stone of the new social order, consequently collective or communal property had to be perceived as the cornerstone of this new environment. In 1972, FRELIMO had already expressed its own ideas on private and collective property, by stressing that: “*a propriedade individual ou familiar começa a substituir-se, bem como começa a surgir a produção colectiva; o comercio nao esta mais nas maos de individuos que o utilizam para seu proveito pessoal; ele é gerido pelos orgaos da Nação e para beneficio de todos. ..., o poder reside no Povo e é utilizado para seu beneficio*” (FRELIMO, 1972: 11). Even after Mozambican independence (1975), historical data

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<sup>48</sup> As mentioned by Isaacman *et al.*(1983) “*to a certain extent, all underdeveloped countries experienced similar uncertainties at independence. Illiteracy, poverty, unfamiliarity with democratic processes, racial and ethnic cleavages, and the threat of an autonomous bureaucracy have plagued all newly independent countries of the Third world*” (1983: 110).



frequently reported FRELIMO's wish to reconstruct a new society and to dismantle colonial heritage.

In November 1977, during a four-day State visit to Nigeria, President Samora Machel<sup>49</sup> made the following speech: *"what type of society to build? New elements appeared within Mozambican society who proposed to substitute themselves for the fleeing exploiters, attempting to re-establish the capitalist exploitation practised by the Portuguese in new forms. Was this really the objective of our fight? The reply of the masses was clear: to reject any restoration of capitalist exploitation: they asserted that they were fighting for total liberation, not to substitute one exploiter for another"* (Agencia de Informação de Moçambique, 1977: 17).

Aimed at forging a new generation of African men and women, FRELIMO urged Mozambican peoples to embrace a social and cultural project through a new society without races, tribes and religions, which could be established and flourished for the benefit of the masses power. As documented by the journal *'Mozambican Revolution'* (1974, n.59 (April-June)), Samora Machel vividly and repeatedly emphasised FRELIMO's belief in a society without distinctions<sup>50</sup>, where all

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<sup>49</sup> Samora Machel assumed the leadership of FRELIMO after Eduardo Mondlane's death (1969), and became the President of Mozambique, from 1974 to 1986. Joaquim Chissano succeeded him until the present moment.

<sup>50</sup> *"A primeira palavra que lhes queremos transmitir é uma palavra de tranquilidade e de confiança. A FRELIMO nunca lutou contra o Povo Portugues ou contra a raça branca. A FRELIMO é a organização de todos os moçambicanos sem distinções de raça, de cor, de etnia ou de religião. A nossa luta sempre se dirigiu contra o sistema colonial de opressão e de exploração"* (Samora Machel (1974: 8), *'Mensagem ao Povo de Moçambique – Por Ocasiao da Tomada de Posse do Governo de Transição em 20 de Setembro de 1974'*). Using his words as an example to be followed, Machel (1974) urged the white Portuguese population to erase the beliefs of being a superior race, and he mobilised the African Mozambican people to reject from their minds the prejudices of cultural inferiority. Having said this, Machel (1974) attempted to boost the creation of Mozambican cultural associations wherein individuals from different cultures and religions and races could be harmoniously united, in contrast with the existing cultural associations based upon racial and ethnic cleavages (Hedges and Rocha, 1999; Zamparoni, 2000). In fact, Machel strongly believed that *"nao ha raças superiores nem*



*“Mozambicans of all races and ethnic groups, creeds and social background, young and old, men and women, are demanding national independence and identify themselves fully with the principles and programme of FRELIMO” (1974: 20).*

As a result of this understanding, the ‘new Man’ ( this expression includes men, women and children) had to be focused on the construction of his/her new society; aimed at establishing new social relationships under the idea of fraternity and equality; a man set free from the capitalist spirit; a man with a collectively oriented mind; a man conscious of the capacities springing from popular strength; finally a man whose knowledge will not rely on the archaic traditions, obscurantism, and superstition<sup>51</sup> (see, also Doc.inf.n.11, Serie B (1977) – *‘Empenhar toda a capacidade de trabalho para a vitoria na frente nacional: Seminario do Curso de Formacao de Professores*). According to Newitt (1995), the most important transformation to take place during this period of national unification and popular mobilisation, was the role of women, and Samora Machel’s<sup>52</sup> speech at the founding conference of the OMM (Organização das Mulheres Moçambicanas) in 1973, illustrated the vital importance Mozambican women would play in the ideological revolution: *“the emancipation of*

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*inferiores. Mas nao basta falar em harmonia social para que de um dia para o outro todos se entendam. O convivio que é necessario estabelecer deve ser um convivio pleno, a todas as horas, e nao somente o convivio superficial das horas de emprego e das relações profissionais. Em particular os clubes e associações baseados na origem etnica, e regional devem transformar-se em associações de todos os moçambicanos, em centros de cultura moçambicana” (op.cit.,p. 17-8).*

<sup>51</sup> *“quadro apto para realizar esta missao é aquele que se engaja activamente na grande tarefa de renovação da mentalidade e que, progressivamente e atraves da luta sem treguas, forja uma mentalidade que rejeita o peso negativo do passado e se orienta decisivamente para o futuro. Este é o momento decisivo da nossa luta, o do nosso combate no seio das consciencias. A imoralidade, a corrupção, o liberalismo, debilitam o nosso moral e enfraquecem a nossa capacidade de realização das tarefas .... E necessario, pois, que nos engajemos todos com o nosso esforço e entusiasmo neste combate gigantesco pela transformação de nos proprios, pois, a transformação da sociedade é inseparavel da transformação do homem” (FRELIMO, 1972: 12).*

<sup>52</sup> Samora Machel was convinced of women’s highest importance as educators agents of the young Mozambican generation, and used to refer to family as *‘the first cell of the party’* (Urdang, 1984:31).

*women is not an act of charity, the result of a humanitarian or compassionate attitude. The liberation of women is a fundamental necessity for the revolution, the guarantee of its continuity and the precondition of its victory. The main objective of the revolution is to destroy the system of exploitation and build a new society which releases the potential of human beings .... This is the context within which the question of women's emancipation arises"* (quoted in Urdang, 1984: 9).

Throughout FRELIMO's national mobilisation campaign, education appeared as a fundamental tool and was represented as the basis of the struggle for Mozambican national consolidation. Moreover, FRELIMO understood that education could (and should) be a symbol of the defeat and dismantlement of the previous educational colonial structures. Samora Machel referred to the educational perversity imposed by the colonial regime, during his visit to Nigeria in 1977, as follows: "*colonialism, a system for the deprivation of an entire people's freedom, is the greatest destroyer of culture that humanity has ever known. African society and its culture were crushed, and when they survived they were co-opted so that they could be more easily emptied of their content. They taught us to admire the deeds of Afonso do Albuquerque ..., but were silent about those of Maguigwana or Chaka. We knew in detail the winding courses of the Tejo or the Thames, but did not know that great rivers such as the Zambezi or the Niger flowed in the vast African savannahs*" (Agencia de Informação de Moçambique, 1977: 14-5; see also, Borges, 2001).

On the subject of FRELIMO's educational revolution, Borges (2001) stated that from the beginning of the Transitional Government, FRELIMO was not able to effectively implant and coordinate its educational intentions throughout the country. Although



these activities were established in the liberated zones, the same did not take place particularly in other regions of the country, which had been under the influence of Portuguese colonialism and inheritance. Borges (2001) in his essay about the Mozambican cultural policy after independence - '*A politica cultural em Moçambique apos a independencia*', has also turned attention to the fact that even on those recently liberated zones – "*zonas apenas recentemente liberadas*" (Borges, 2001: 232), it was still retaining and reproducing the complex human, economic, political and social geography alien to FRELIMO's intention of national unification and popular mobilisation. To strengthen his argument, Borges quoted from Reis's and Muiuane's book (1975) the following words of Samora Machel: "*na parte que foi sempre dominada pelo colonialismo, existem vicios que sao considerados virtudes, existem defeitos que ja sao parte integrante de alguns de nos, existe a desmobilizacao do povo, o povo orientado por questoes secundarias – existe o individualismo bastante cultivado, existe a ambição, existe a ganancia de ser rico, existem problemas de tribalismo, existe o regionalismo e existe o racismo – estes problemas existem e nao podemos ignora-los*" (Reis and Muiuane, 1975: 426).

Faced with the heritage of colonialist mentality and values, FRELIMO launched a vast educational campaign both in the liberated and non-liberated zones, by proclaiming that illiteracy ought to be eliminated, and education should be democratised, in order to grant the Mozambican people "*of all races and ethnic groups, creeds and social background, young and old, men and women*" (Mozambican Revolution, 1974: 20), equal rights of education and intellectual development. All over the country FRELIMO enthusiastically built schools and



made every effort to incorporate the inhabitants of different regions, districts and towns into this programme of education<sup>53</sup>.

Simultaneously, FRELIMO declared that proper health care had to be the right of all citizens, no matter what his/her social background. In addition, FRELIMO also stated that the new Mozambican justice system had to be planned in accordance with the needs of popular power, to the detriment of a socially selective justice order imposed by the colonial State. Regarding this aspect, Samora Machel (1974) asserted that justice was the popular masses' right, and therefore, should be reorganised to bring justice to the population easily, and in clear terms, in order to overcome a colonial system that socially discriminated individuals based on his/her social, cultural and economical background: "*o aparelho judiciario deve ser reorganizado para que a justiça seja acessível e compreensível ao cidadão comum da nossa terra*" (1974: 15).

In sum 'Unity, Work, Surveillance', were the leitmotiv words FRELIMO brought to the building of the new society, and its 'new Man', on 25<sup>th</sup> June 1975, at the independence of Mozambique.

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<sup>53</sup> A poem written in 1979 by a young student of Nampula, depicted FRELIMO's desire of exultation of a Mozambican culture based upon the party aim to release its people from colonialist mentality:

*"I greet you Mozambique.  
Country of my grandparents, of my parents, my country.  
Country of my childhood of my first school and my first  
study, of my first love, first dream and anxiety*

*...  
Mozambique – you suffered yesterday, and you who  
were colonised – Today you are liberated today you  
belong to the People!"* (Lampiao, 1979: 7, quoted in Searle (1979)).

#### 4.1.8 *Mozambique: An Independent African Country (1975, 25<sup>th</sup> June)*

Isaacman et al. (1983) observed that “*the inextricably intertwined goals of forging national unity and mobilising the masses were at the centre of the government’s post independence political strategy*” (1983: 111). Beside the inherent premises of national consolidation, FRELIMO was burdened with the supreme task of improving the Mozambicans’ quality of life, by providing the people with a vision, and a hope for the future (Isaacman et al. 1983). As expressed by Newitt (1995) “*FRELIMO came to power determined to end social as well as political oppression. The hated colonial rulers had been defeated, and now it was necessary to liberate the people from internal oppression*” (1995: 546).

Recurringly, FRELIMO invited the Mozambican population to embrace the idea of a new society as the basis of a united nation. Daily broadcasts and newspapers expounded on the theme: “*From the Rovuma to Maputo we are all Mozambicans*”. In fact, one year before independence Samora Machel addressed the ideological belief that FRELIMO was the most legitimate party which would ensure Mozambicans their freedom and their lives: “*in Mozambique, only FRELIMO, which is engaged in destroying colonialism, is equal to the task of establishing the democratic process, as can be seen from the actual life in the liberated areas*” (Mozambican Revolution, 1974: 21). Following this aim of national unification to dismantle the existing “*pyramidal social structure*” (Opello, 1976: 70), FRELIMO continued with its efforts to fight against racism, tribalism, regionalism, and massive popular illiteracy. On the topic of racism, Isaacman et al. (1983) have reported that FRELIMO clearly came to conclusion that “*national unity also required that the new government*



*addresses the vexing problem of racism and the nagging question of citizenship*" (1983: 113).

However, FRELIMO's idea of a united society fell into a dangerous paradox. On the one hand, in 1974 Samora Machel recognised that the liberation struggle was a cause of all "*Mozambicans of all races and ethnic groups*", "*without any distinction*" (*Mozambican Revolution*, 1974: 20), whereas, on the other hand, during the year of independence, in 1975, Samora Machel bluntly proclaimed that: "*we do not recognise tribes, race or religious belief*" (*Review of African Political Economy*, 1975 (4): 23). As observed by Geffray (1990), FRELIMO's disregard for traditional authorities and ethnic groups' idiosyncrasy, prompted a process of cultural marginalisation, displacement and resentment among the rural population. Following Geffray's argument, Finnegan (1989) argued that FRELIMO failed to recognise the historical ancestry anchored in the ethnic groups, and the authority of local tribes' chiefs. Finnegan (1989) quoted the words of a distinguished Mozambican writer, Luis Honwana, concerning FRELIMO's lack of respect for local and ethnic culture: "*we didn't realise how influential the traditional authorities were. We are obviously going to have to harmonise traditional beliefs with our political project. Otherwise we are going against things that the majority of our people believe; we are like foreigners in our country*<sup>54</sup>" (1989: 77, see also, McGregor<sup>55</sup>, 1998).

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<sup>54</sup> Paulina Chiziane, a Mozambican writer, illustrated this cultural gap in her novel '*Ventos do Apocalipse*' (1999), where she vividly pictured the emergence of a 'new world' versus the 'old world', 'past' versus 'present', as follows: "*a crise existe porque o povo perdeu a ligação com a sua historia. As religioes sao importadas. O confronto entre a cultura tradicional e a cultura importada causa transtornos no povo e geral crise de identidade. Estamos tao sobrecarregados de ideias estranhas a nossa cultura que da nossa gente pouco ou nada resta. Somos um bando de desgraçados sem antes nem depois. Qualquer desenvolvimento so é perfeito quando tem uma raiz que o sustenta*" (1999: 267).

Moreover, FRELIMO was unsuccessful in its faith that it could erase the weight of the colonial legacy from the new society. In fact, the vigorous antiracists campaigns encouraged a vast departure of the white population, and of a small number of assimilated - both mulattoes and blacks. Isaacman et al. (1983) have reported that: *“the flow of white emigrants and of a small number of mulattoes and blacks who feared that FRELIMO’s long-term socialist goals jeopardised their relatively privileged social position .... Within a year after independence the white population has dwindled from more than 200,000 to about 20,000”* (1983: 113).

Though the social paradoxes outlived, the FRELIMO’s goal of removing from old social structures left by the colonialists remained firm. After the Third Party Congress, held in February 1977, FRELIMO presented the so-called ‘Popular Democratic Revolution’<sup>56</sup>. This stage indicated that FRELIMO turned towards the adoption of a socialist ideology. Determined to realise this socialist project, FRELIMO had to count upon an educational revolution that would transform people’s consciousness and sense of identity. To this aim, FRELIMO based its activities upon the recapture of Mozambican history, ancestry, music, dance, and folklore, because the real Mozambican popular culture had to be national and revolutionary (Borges, 2001).

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<sup>55</sup> The author (1998) noticed that FRELIMO’s contempt for local and traditional authority led most of the prominent chiefs to be fully *“excluded from the new structures. They suffered a dramatic loss partly because their administrative authority was not rooted in other ways”* (1998: 42).

<sup>56</sup> See, Geffray (1990) argued that *“le ‘marxisme’ devenait le corpus conceptuel permettant l’invention dy pays imaginaire, et le guarant dogmatique de la coherence interne de la fiction dont se soutenait le projet nationaliste du pouvoir”* (1990 : 28-9 ; see also Geffray, 1988).



In 1977, on the Reuniao Nacional de Cultura, the Culture Minister, Graça Simbine, referred to culture as an important tool in the struggle for FRELIMO's ideology; culture representing an ideological and scientific weapon against the colonial impurities, and the evils of individualism and ambition; a culture that has to be scientifically organised and planned to form a 'new Man'<sup>57</sup> dedicated to the Peoples of Mozambique, whose behaviour would be oriented towards the concept of collectivity.

According to Graça Simbine (1977) it was necessary to deepen and explore the cultural manifestations of a real Mozambican culture among the population, in order to impregnate traditional and regional cultures with the revolutionary values, that were considered as cultural and national patrimony, and a strong instrument for the unity of the people; Graça Simbine's speech: "*impoe-se aprofundar e explorar essas manifestações culturais já generalizadas no seio das massas populares, para que de tradicionais e regionais se impregnem de valores verdadeiramente revolucionários e constituam património cultural nacional e um forte instrumento de unidade do Povo do Rovuma ao Maputo*" (Centro Nacional de Documentação e Informação de Moçambique, Doc.inf.n.18, serie B, CEDIMO, 1977: 3).

To ensure that Mozambicans would conform their behaviours and attitudes with FRELIMO's socialist project, FRELIMO created the well-known '*Grupos*

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<sup>57</sup> "*a alienação entre o subjectivo e o objectivo, entre o interior, entre nos e os outros, entre privilegiados e explorados, destruindo para isso as bases materiais e ideológicas dessa alienação. A revolução do individuo, our seja, a revolução dentro da revolução, é a maior das aventuras que podemos pensar e materializar*" (Tempo, n.295: 63; quoted in Borges, 2001: 235).

*Dinamizadores*' (Dynamising Groups)<sup>58</sup>. As explained by Newitt (1995) and Rita-Ferreira (1998), these groups were aimed at mobilising the population, and at ensuring that FRELIMO's directives would be respected and accomplished. In practice, the '*Grupos Dinamizadores*' were told to play the 'eye' and 'voice' of FRELIMO in the economic, cultural and social areas of the 'new' society. Furthermore, FRELIMO also reformed the system of health, justice, housing and education in order to bring these domains within its revolutionary project.

On 29<sup>th</sup> July, 1975, the government proclaimed that the practice of private health would be completely removed from its political agenda. In the same year, 16<sup>th</sup> August, the justice system was subjected to a complete reformulation, because FRELIMO reasoned that justice should be employed for the benefit of the popular masses, by expressing that the previous structure was incompatible with the socialist reforming program. The system on land property was reformulated following FRELIMO's plan of democratisation, by eliminating the previous one that favoured private property. On 17<sup>th</sup> June, 1975, Samora Machel explicitly identified FRELIMO's stance about private property, by admonishing those whose attitudes conformed to the old colonial structure to leave the country and to follow the white colonial men: "*quem quiser terra privilegiada siga os colonialistas .... Aqui em Moçambique nao haverá terra privada, nem venda de terras, o povo vai ter a terra ... Voces pensam que a FRELIMO travou guerra durante dez anos, para dar terra aos latifundiários ?*" (quoted in Rita-Ferreira, 1998: 145).

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<sup>58</sup> The '*Grupos Dinamizadores*' formally assumed its functions in conformity with the government decree n.16/75, in 1975, 13<sup>th</sup> February.



Education also suffered a radical change regarding the educational *curricula*. In 1977, Graça Simbine urged high school and university students – also called the ‘*Continuadores da Revolução*’<sup>59</sup> - to focus their interests upon the premise that culture was a revolutionary and scientific tool with which to serve the popular masses’ needs, in contrast with the preceding competitive and individualistic educational system. In effect, as noted by Rita-Ferreira (1998), this demand represented to many students an interruption in the course of their personal goals and perspectives.

Although, in the years immediately after independence, changes were begun in all domains, the massive departure of white Portuguese professors, engineers, doctors, technicians, left Mozambique drifting in a state of economical, social and cultural chaos and confusion. Portuguese colonialism had taught nothing to the African population, but racial and ethnic cleavages, racism, tribalism, regionalism, cultural ignorance, and illiteracy. Jeopardised by FRELIMO’s socialists language many white men and women, Indian workers and professionals, and the assimilated skilled African population left the country (Isaacman *et al.*, 1983; Rita-Ferreira, 1998; Newitt, 1995). FRELIMO was aware of this colonial legacy (Borges, 2001), but the historical weight of colonial exploitation had already impregnated the economic and social structures of Mozambique. A massive lack of professionals among the population hampered the development of the country. As a result, Mozambican

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<sup>59</sup> In 1985, Samora Machel’s statement at the ‘*Conferencia dos Continuadores da Revolução Moçambicana*’, clearly demonstrated the importance young students were to play in the revolutionary project of FRELIMO: “*Queridos Continuadores. Vocês são já a certeza do nosso amanhã, os Continuadores do grande sonho ...Este é um momento de luta, momento em que iremos contribuir para a solução dos nossos problemas. Por isso, os Continuadores devem estar organizados para poderem cumprir as suas tarefas na Revolução moçambicana*” (Notícias, 1985 (25th October): 29-31).

inhabitants had to endure precarious living conditions associated with an increasing shortage of food (Isaacman *et al.*, 1995); impoverishment and a degeneration of education, health, and civil security. The internal situation in the country was also associated with external pressures and boycotts aimed at suspending the economic growth of Mozambique.

Externally, the birth of Mozambique as a newly independent country, and its socialist revolutionary program was perceived as a menace by the white settler regimes in South West Africa, South Africa, Rhodesia (actual Zimbabwe) (see Newitt, 1995). By this time, outside the southern African region, FRELIMO's relation with Portugal remained tense for some years. In addition, Mozambique had to face South Africa's destabilisation policy, because of FRELIMO's political support for the ANC (African National Congress), a dissident party working against the South-African Apartheid system. As documented by Newitt (1995): "*Mozambique's existence had always been closely linked with that of the other states and people of central and southern Africa .... South Africa's embattled stance towards the rest of Africa had arisen during the period of decolonisation*" (Newitt, 1995: 560-1).



## 4.2 Part Two

“...os sentimentos de uma pessoa  
em relação à terra que deixou  
nunca são simples. Se a abandonou,  
é porque há coisas que  
rejeitou nela – a repressão,  
a insegurança, a pobreza,  
a ausência de horizontes”.

Amin Maloof

### 4.2.1 *Perceptions of History: African Mozambican Immigration*

In many aspects, the euphoria of success accomplished by FRELIMO (1974) was not sensed in many districts and towns of Mozambique. As documented by Ribeiro (2000), in his book *‘As representações sociais dos Moçambicanos: do passado colonial à democratização’*, the struggle for liberation (1964-1974) remained practically unknown by the majority urban Mozambican inhabitants. Effectively, Portuguese colonial State cunningly prevented the circulation of FRELIMO’s broadcasts and speech among the urban population. The impact of FRELIMO’s ideology was, at the same time, scary and exciting. Above all, FRELIMO was a movement whose aim was to release the popular masses from the colonial power, and not to strengthen the privileges the assimilated possessed within the colonial system. Many assimilated families – both mulattoes and black (who were initially under a misapprehension about FRELIMO’s ideological theory) had considered FRELIMO’s revolutionary program as a means to reassure their social status, and erase the inherent contradictions. However, shortly after the arrival of FRELIMO in

all Mozambican cities, both the white and the assimilated populations realised that their dreams and expectations were being consistently fought and denied.

FRELIMO's speech regarding the new Mozambican society and the 'new Man' threatened these families, but it was the ideological practices that pulled them towards a process of immigration. For instance, at the '*Grupos Dinamizadores*' level, it has been documented (Rita-Ferreira, 1998) that instead of being the representatives of the establishment of social consolidation and popular mobilisation regarding FRELIMO's agenda, those groups spread insecurity, fear and animosity. If initially, these groups were told to be the 'eye' and the 'voice' of FRELIMO, progressively most of them became sources of individual ambition and revenge, whose wishes were focused on nurturing a lack of confidence, individual freedom, and intimidation among the population. Longstanding racial and ethnic cleavages were the basis of their greedy conduct towards the population. Obviously, this fact demonstrated that if FRELIMO was triumphant in bringing home the hotly debated decolonisation process (Correia, 1994; Margarido, 1980; Bragança, 1981, quoted in Rita-Ferreira, 1998), the frequent racial and ethnic confrontations were evidence that a cultural and social decolonisation process had not permeated the minds of many Mozambicans.

Parallel to this negative impact, the increasing degradation of health, educational, agricultural and justice structures affected by the departure of a countless number of professionals, teachers, doctors, lawyers, technicians had thrown the country into a permanent chaos, confusion, and insecurity (see, Rita-Ferreira, 1998). Most of those families that could not sustain these situations. Thus, many Mozambican families and



individuals decided to take the difficult option of uprooting themselves from their homeland and immigrating. This project, though controversial was one in which they could identify themselves in terms of their identity, expectations and hopes for the future.

### **4.3 Conclusions**

The history of Mozambique is not only the history of a country, its history is also the history of the people who lived there, of their sentiments, emotions, representations related to each historical moment (from colonial to the post independence moments).

Furthermore, the history of Mozambique can also be thought of as the grounds for a new history, that of immigration. Many Mozambicans have pursued a course convinced that they would recover the lost homeland. A homeland they considered as a safe place wherein they could protect their identities, and preserve their hope for a better future.

Having this course in mind, the following chapter (Chapter 5) will look at the ways that fieldwork and associated techniques were developed according to the assembled theoretical (Chapters 2 and 3) and historical data. It also aims to portray culturally and socially those who have immigrated from Mozambique to Portugal and to England. In this respect, a sociological explanation of African Mozambican immigration in Portugal and England will be offered.

## 5 The Method

*“La vita non è quella che si è vissuta, ma quella che si ricorda e come si la ricorda per raccontarla”.*

Gabriel Garcia Marquez.

This chapter is structured to intersect both the theoretical model, the methodological approach, and the historical and sociological framework defined throughout the preceding chapters, with the fieldwork technique chosen for the examination of how African Mozambican immigrants have constructively developed strategies of acculturation and identity narratives within either Portuguese or English societies. Detailed attention will be paid to the paths that have led this research from a theoretical standpoint towards a practical application of it. Having this aim in mind, this chapter will be ordered into the following sections.

Section one will establish the interaction between theoretical and methodological models, and will combine the historical and sociological data with the construction of the fieldwork technique most suitable for the purposes of this research. Section two will look at the interview structure and its construction. Section three will be focused upon the diverse phases regarding the fieldwork preparation and concretisation. In this respect, the preliminary aspects to fieldwork such as exploratory interviews, social limitations, as well as the sociological portrayal of the participants will be defined.



Section four will tackle with the effects of the interference of the researcher on the subject that is being studied. In this regard, both the perception of the intrusion of the identity of the researcher on the subjects being examined, and conversely, the ‘other’s’ perception of the researcher will be considered. Finally, section five will illustrate evidence how the interaction of intertwined moments of a research project have clearly created the basis to approach the social world and to examine human reality.

### **5.1 Theoretical, Methodological and Historical Framework: Creating the Interview Technique**

As suggested by Riessman (1993), identifying narratives of personal experience for analysis is not a difficult task, in fact, the author affirmed that “*they are ubiquitous in everyday life*” (1993: 2). Besides, telling stories about the past and current life experiences seems to be a universal human activity, at the very least “*one of the first forms of discourse we learn as children*” (Riessman, 1993: 3; see also, Nelson, 1989). As noted by White (1989) “*so natural is the impulse to narrate*” (quoted in Riessam, 1993:3) that the “*the form is almost inevitable for any report of how things happened, a solution to the problem of how to translate knowing into telling*” (White, 1989:1). Bruner (1987) enlarged this notion: “*narrative imitates life, life imitates narrative. “Life” in this sense is the same kind of construction of the human imagination as “a narrative” is . It is constructed by human beings through active ratiocination, by the same kind of ratiocination through which we construct narratives*” (1987: 13).

Adopting a similar argument to Bruner, Riessman has emphasised that the building of a narrative frequently implies “*human agency and imagination [that] determine what gets included and excluded*” (1993: 2). Basically, the researcher is confronted with a need to create a theoretical order to analyse the flow of emotions, perceptions and sentiments emerging within individuals’ narratives of life. If qualitative interviews serve to get inside the social world of each person, paradoxically, “*most of the talk is not narrative but question-and-answer exchanges, arguments, and others forms of discourse*” (Riessman, 1993: 3). Quivy and Campenhoudt (1992), observed that interviews clearly allow a vivid human interaction between the researcher and the person that is being interviewed. In fact, both authors have argued that, at this level of interface the interview technique provides the researcher with the opportunity of collecting information and elements of empirical evidence which are extremely fertile and diversified. Despite this asset, both authors have warned that interview techniques may be profitable and helpful when structured accurately according to the research purposes previously delineated.

Making allowance for both Riessman’s (1993) and Quivy and Campenhoudt (1992)’ point of view, two main conditions were at stake in the adoption of the interview technique: firstly, to establish with the participants, a fluid dialogue based upon a group of questions planned according to either the theoretical framework or a chronological order. In other words, instead of a “*question-and-answer exchanges*” the idea was to offer the participants the possibility and the space to talk about their experiences of life through a temporal matrix, wherein life events could be described in terms of time, places, social structures, and people with whom they have interacted. Secondly, to extract from the interviews substantial information that



would respond to the research hypothesis and research expectations previously defined (see Chapter 1).

In view of this, the semi-structured interview was considered to be the most appropriate technique to measure and examine Mozambican immigrants' perceptions of their acculturation strategies and identity narratives. Moreover, this technique would identify the ways in which these individuals are able to impose an order on the flow of their experiences as immigrants within two different host societies, and ultimately how they made sense of their identity in terms of the events and episodes occurring within their lives.

## **5.2 Interview Structure and Construction**

The construction of interview was based upon theoretical, methodological, historical and sociological elements gathered within the scope of this research project. Mainly, interview was classified in four main sections:

**Section One:** sociological information related to each participant, such as: sex, age, status, nationality, educational background, and professional occupation- *the sociocultural features of the acculturating group* (Berry, 1980).

**Section Two:** participants' perceptions of historical and sociological events took place in Mozambique during Portuguese colonialism, and after Mozambican political independence. Also, the respondents' reasons underlying their departure from their homeland – what Berry has designated as prior immigrants' features to immigration (Berry, 1997). In this respect, a substantial amount of time was dedicated to the

reading of articles, specialised books, journals, magazines, novels – contemporary Mozambican literature – regarding the history of Mozambique, Portuguese colonialism, the Mozambican struggle for independence, and the political, social and economic changes that occurred shortly after Mozambican political independence.

**Section Three (Parts I and II):** participants' representations of Portuguese society, modes of acculturation, strategies of identity and social contact developed by them in Portugal. This section, was divided into two parts, one related to Portugal, and the other related to England. The second part was aimed at regarding the reasons that have pushed Mozambican immigrants towards a new process of immigration, and the modes of acculturation, strategies of identity and social interaction they have adopted within English society. This section was based upon Berry's two-fold enquiry (1984, 1997), firstly, *'is it considered to be of value to maintain cultural identity and characteristics?'*; secondly, *'is it considered to be of value to maintain relationships with other groups?'*. Also, based on Tajfel's (1978) typology of strategies of identity, this section sought to determine how Mozambican immigrants make sense of their own identities and through which identity devices they create their unique view of cultural expression.

**Section Four:** examines Mozambican immigrants' perceptions of identity, identification with the homeland, Mozambican culture, and associative efforts of cultural representation. Basically, the aim of this section is to examine how ethnicity is socially constructed (Fenton, 1999), and by what means the discourse that individuals use (Porter, 1996) is brought into a narrative form (Somers and Gibson,



1998; Riessman, 1993; Bruner, 1987) to justify their identity position within the reality of immigration.

Due to research purposes of accurately reflecting participants' accounts of their identity and the existing Mozambican policy of cultural representation, a second semi-structured interview was created, which explored political and associative Mozambican leaders' perceptions concerning:

- 1) the characteristics of a Mozambican immigrant community either in Portugal and England;
- 2) the interaction between cultural associations and associative networks with Mozambican immigrant community;
- 3) the impact of cultural activities developed by Mozambican associations.

### **5.3 The Fieldwork**

The preparation of fieldwork requires dedication and patience. I started by approaching the Mozambican Embassy in London in order to obtain a list of Mozambican immigrants living in England, but, the results of this effort were scarce. In fact, the person who was my contact there, confessed that the Embassy did not have an exhaustive record concerning Mozambican immigrants who were living in England, mainly because the majority had Portuguese nationality, therefore they were considered by the official system as European citizens. However, during our conversation, two topics came to the fore, one related to an absence of statistical information about Mozambican immigrants living or working in Europe. The other issue related to the fact that only Mozambicans with a Mozambican passport (nationality) were registered at the Embassy due to bureaucratic requirements. I

realised that I was being confronted with a sociological research problem: how to find these people? However, at the end of our informal rapport I asked this person if he was acquainted with Mozambicans that had left Portugal, and were now dwelling in England. His help was enormous. He gave me a list of few people that fitted my research schedule, and advised me to approach them on his behalf.

Immediately, I began to get in touch with these people by phone. Although it was exciting to have individuals with whom I might initiate the interviews, I was aware of the difficulties inherent to this fieldwork, mainly because they did not know me. Normally, I initiated the phone conversation by introducing myself and saying that I was a student at Warwick University, and I was undertaking research about a Mozambican immigration project to Portugal and England. I needed to add that I was also Mozambican. In fact, this issue assumed immense value to enable me to get close to these immigrants. I shall come back to this topic later on.

### ***5.3.1 Empirical Problems Associated with Fieldwork***

The reactions to my person and to my research were diverse. Among those to whom I spoke, it was possible to identify at least two groups: those who paid immediate attention to the scope of the project and expressed an enormous curiosity and enthusiasm concerning the possibility of giving their contributions to the development of the study. Instead of feeling like a subject that was about to be studied, they perceived this research as an opportunity offered to them, an unique moment during which they could unveil their emotions, thoughts, sentiments and expectations that had for many years remained unspoken.



A narrative *voyage* through it they could account for their narratives of life during Portuguese colonialism, and how they embraced the political independence of Mozambique. An occasion to express their profound disappointment and resentment with the new ideological project of FRELIMO; their departure from Mozambique; the project of a new life in Portugal; the unexpected problems they faced within Portuguese society; and articulate the motives that had led them to emigrate to England. Finally, a chance to verbalize their identity.

With this group of people it was easy to arrange the day and time of the interviews. Needless to say, that I also had to explain to them that the interview could last up to one hour, that it will be tape recorded and, ultimately, that confidentiality would be respected. Through this group, I was informed of other Mozambican residents in England. Without this snowball technique it would have been impossible to identify other Mozambicans.

I was, however, confronted with another group of people who were suspicious of my research. Mainly, these people thought that I was connected with the official Mozambican government – FRELIMO – thus, I was a ‘spy’ trying to infiltrate into their lives. During these situations, I attempted to make it clear that I was neither associated to any kind of political association, nor was my research being developed under political or ideological auspices.

On the subject of suspicion, Iturra (1986)<sup>60</sup> observed that participant observation is a violent method, violent to whom is being observed, and to whom is observing. From the author's point of view, when a researcher assumes the role of someone who wants to accomplish a research goal, he/she is an outsider from the social universe in relation to the project, but the inverse also occurs. In other words, the researcher might, as well, assume the role of someone to be studied and deconstructed as being the 'other'. As has been suggested by Iturra (1986), in reality, two different 'worlds' and identities confront each other.

With reference to the issue of identity confrontation, Costa (1986) pointed out that when the researcher enters a certain social context, inevitably, his or her presence constructs an identity and leads to a variety of social roles. According to the author, the possibilities of building a social identity when interacting with the members of a particular social group or community, also the features of this community's identity, may produce a fieldwork enquiry. In addition, Costa (1986) argued that the researcher's intrinsic social and cultural characteristics may have an impact on the process of data collection. I shall put this issue into an illustrative perspective. For instance, throughout the fieldwork, I realised that the participants after seeing me, begun to ask questions about my family name, my identity background. Particularly, I remember a Mozambican immigrant's enquiry whether I was a white Portuguese person, because of my accent. I replied, by saying that I was neither white, nor Portuguese, but rather I was born in Mozambique and I had Portuguese nationality.

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<sup>60</sup> Original version: "*Mas – digamo-lo directamente – é um método violento. Violento, para quem começa a ser observado; violento para quem observa. E uma relação onde a suspeita etnocêntrica é normalmente introduzida*" (Iturra, 1986: 157).



At a certain point, I noticed that this person prompted me to fashion my identity, and maybe, I felt induced to express it in a very compelling way.

Sometimes, fieldwork may give rise to tricky moments for the person doing research. Taking my experience as an example, I can recall, at least, two situations that hampered the course of my research agenda. Besides the feeling of suspicion with regard to the content of this project, silence and gender problems were other issues I had to face.

Silence had a lower impact upon the preparation of this fieldwork, however its emergence suggested some reflections. I noticed that silence is not solely words that are left unsaid. On the contrary, it can be defined as being the effort a person shows when using a short cut discourse strategy. Indeed, this moment occurred when an individual, who I was about to interview, assumed a distant and shallow attitude concerning to the topics about which she was invited to talk. I clearly remember that during our interview, she adopted a scheme of words economy, by employing discursive devices such as: “*you know what I mean ...*”; “*I don’t have to explain that ...*”. From my point of view, this is a particular type of silence, that I shall call a narrative strategy of no deconstruction. Regarding this aspect, Billig (1991) has warned practitioners that it is necessary to be mindful of the way that language is being employed, and what is not being said. This warning will be taken into consideration during the data analysis.

Being a female does not always involve straightforward access to people. Occasionally, it represents a research hindrance that creates insecurity on whoever is

undertaking the research and implies substantial losses in terms of participants. I can count from my fieldwork preparation two situations in which I sensed the disadvantage of being female, and I recognised that a project research should combine both female and male researchers. Regarding gender problems arising during interview fieldwork, Costa (1986)<sup>61</sup> has suggested that the scope of particular research projects may require a female researcher rather than a male.

### ***5.3.2 Fieldwork Design I: Exploratory Interviews***

Fieldwork design *I*, aimed to evaluate the accuracy and clarity (Quivy and Campenhoudt, 1992) of the interview guidelines. It was undertaken in London, from October to December 2000. The sample consisted of 8 individuals, two males and six females. After this phase, the structure of the interview underwent some modifications, and was cast light on some issues that were previously absent.

### ***5.3.3 Fieldwork Design II: Individual Interviews and Interview with Mozambican Associative Leaders***

The subsequent fieldwork was split into two phases, in different countries. I started my fieldwork by interviewing Mozambican leaders, either in Portugal or in England. Phase one began in April 2001, in London, where I was able to get in touch with one Mozambican leader of the *Mozambican Association of Great Britain and Northern Ireland* (AMORIN). In fact, as reported by this person, there is no record of any other Mozambican association or cultural network either in England, or in North

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<sup>61</sup> See for instance Costa and Dore's work (1984), '*O tragico e o contraste – O fado no Bairro da Alfama*'.



Ireland (for better details, see Chapter 7). From April to May 2001, I was in Lisbon to interview some Mozambican association leaders, including the Mozambican Ambassador and the representative of the Cultural Department of the Mozambican Embassy. Other than the Embassy's contacts, it was only possible to speak to two Mozambican cultural leaders: Mr. Francisco Lima, from *Associação Velhos Convivas de Moçambique*, that has existed since 1968 and was initially named as *Associação dos Naturais e Ex-Residentes de Moçambique* (ANERM); and, with Mr. Adriano Malalane, the solicitor of *Casa de Moçambique*. Both associative representatives provided me with a list of other existing Mozambican cultural associations. In spite of my insistent phone calls, I was not able to speak to anybody. Furthermore, research time forced me to quit and to limit my agenda to the data that it was feasible to assemble. I shall list those Mozambican associations:

- a) *Associação Amigos da Matola*;
- b) *Casa de Moçambique* ;
- c) *Associação Africana de Moçambique* ;
- d) *Associação de Moçambique*.

Phase two, the individual interviews, was developed from June to November 2001, in London. Here, after longstanding interview arrangements, I managed to gather twenty Mozambican immigrants. All participants were invited to individually answer a group of questions following a chronological and historical flow concerning their life experiences. The interviews were tape-recorded, fully typed, and confidentiality was said to be a principle underlying this research. The length of each interview varied from one up to four hours (actually, I had an interview that lasted five hours). Efforts were made to ensure the protection of the real identities of the participants, in

spite of their testimonies. Nonetheless, some of the respondents, at a certain moment of the interview, requested that the tape-recorder be turned off when they related specific episodes and events concerning their private lives. In this case, I had to resort to my memory and, immediately, after the interview had to write down what the participants wished 'not to say'. These notes were neither transcribed, nor even considered as data.

Although, initially, the participants were told that the interviews would be done individually, some of them were however subjected to time constraints, or limited by their work agenda, or by family duties. Therefore, I was forced to conduct some interviews by gathering two or more individuals in the same place, though they were separately interviewed. Surely, I am aware that this strategy was a dangerous one, but the possibility of losing these people caused me to run the risks. There was no kind of interference during the work. In fact, these circumstances prompted these people to offer great support and solidarity to my work.

#### *5.3.3.1 African Mozambican Immigrants: The Historical and Sociological Portrayal*

Among the 20 participants, the sample consisted of 13 females and 7 males, with ages ranging from 27 to 69 years. Regarding their cultural background, the majority presented a good level of educational and professional skills<sup>62</sup> prior to immigration (see table below):

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<sup>62</sup> See on Chapter 7, how African Mozambicans' educational and professional skills have implied a low interest on the creation of associative networks and strategies of cultural representation.



Participants	Place of Birth	Age	Education	Social Background	Work Experience in Mozambique
Agostinho	Nampula	23	Technical Institute (9 years)	Working Class	Pneumatic Technician (Maputo)
Alice	Catembe (Maputo)	22	Primary School (4 years)	Working Class	not mentioned (Maputo)
Ana	Manica-Sofala	32	Commercial Institute (9 years)	Working Class	Secretary (Beira)
André	Xinavane	33	Commercial Institute (9 years)	Working Class	Office Clerk (Maputo)
Clara	Maputo	12	Secondary School (7 years)	Working Class	Student (Maputo)
Cláudia	Maputo	23	University Degree	Working Class	Teacher (Maputo)
Daniel	Maputo	9	Primary School (4 years)	Working Class	Student (Maputo)
Daniela	Maputo	9	Primary School (4 years)	Working Class	Student (Maputo)
Helena	Maputo	12	Secondary School (7 years)	Working Class	Student (Maputo)
Joana	Tete	33	Primary School (4 years)	Working Class	Dactylographer (Nampula)
Júlio	Quelimane	29	Secondary School (11 years)	Working Class	Telecom Technician (Maputo)
Lídia	Maputo	20	Secondary School (10 years)	Working Class	Student (Maputo)
Luísa	Nampula	25	Secondary School (10 years)	Working Class	Office Clerk (Nampula)
Mafalda	Maputo	14	Secondary School (9 years)	Working Class	Student (Maputo)
Paulo	Xinavane	11	Middle School (6 years)	Working Class	Student (Xinavane)
Raul	Maputo	17	Secondary School (11 years)	Working Class	Student (Maputo)
Ricardo	Inhambane	13	Secondary School (8 years)	Working Class	Student (Inhambane)
Sandra	Maputo	14	Secondary School (9 years)	Working Class	Student (Maputo)
Sara	Inhambane	41	Commercial Institute (9 years)	Working Class	Office Clerk (Maputo)
Sofia	Maputo	47	Secondary School (10 years)	Working Class	Office Clerk (Maputo)

**Figure 4 - African Mozambican Immigrants Sociological Portrayal Prior to Immigration**



Historically, their identities were forged by the Portuguese colonial system as the '*assimilados*'. As reported on chapter 4, throughout the centuries of the Portuguese colonial presence in Mozambique, a cultural and social hierarchy was created by ordering the native population into a rigid scale of social categories: the native people, normally designated as '*indigena*'; and those who the prevailing colonial regime perceived as socially suitable according to its cultural patterns and norms of sociability, commonly identified as the '*assimilados*'. From the historical data of the latter social category, the '*assimilados*' Penvenne (1989) and Mondlane (1983) reported two sub-types of identity: on the one hand, those who were automatically accepted as assimilated, currently identified as the '*mulattoes*' (or mixed race) (cf. Rocha, 1996) and, on the other hand, those who were forced to prove that they could live under the rules of the Portuguese culture, normally designated as "*culturally assimilated black or honorary non-native*" (Penvenne, 1989: 256). Finally, occupying the top place of the hierarchical pyramid, the white Portuguese community. Even, amongst the white people, there was a clear watershed between those poor white persons that had immigrated to Africa to search for better conditions of life – '*os portugueses de segunda*' -, and those who belonged to the white Portuguese colonial elite.

Between the group of the '*assimilados*' - composed either by the *mulattoes* or the '*culturally assimilated black*' - there was a competition for rights and better living conditions, in terms of salaries, work and education (Penvenne, 1989), principally because the assimilated black (I shall employ this expression when referring to the *culturally assimilated black*), perceived that the *mulattoes* were socially, culturally and economically favoured by the system. Hedges and Rocha (1999) argued that the



limited material resources united both groups into a history of struggle, animosity and suspicion: “*de qualquer modo, a historia das relaoes entre os dois grupos   a historia da relaao entre os dois grupos   a historia da competiao pela representatividade da comunidade negra, nao ocultando, muitas vezes um certo ambiente dominado pela intriga, pela desconfiana e, ate mesmo, pela discriminaao racial originada pelas circunstancias da dominaao colonial. Ate entao, devido ao acesso mais facil a educaao e melhores postos de emprego, em geral, os mulatos dirigiam a oposiao moderada e literaria em Loureno Marques*” (1999: 66) . Although this social gap has been considered as the situation prevailing during the colonial system<sup>63</sup>, Mondlane (1983) argued that is important to retain the idea that the ‘*assimilados*’ were culturally and economically superior when comparing their status with those of the *indigenas*, however, the ‘*assimilados*’ occupied a markedly an inferior position in relation to the white Portuguese community (see Chapter 4).

It is important to clarify that the notion of *mulatto* in this research cannot be limited to the normal use of the word (a person whose ancestry is composed by a black woman and a white man), but rather it is used in a broad sense, because the cultural background of some of the respondents goes beyond this customary frame. For instance, some of them are a blend between Indian and black; Indian and white. As viewed by the participants even within the category of *mulatto* there was a distinct

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<sup>63</sup> Substantial data regarding this fact has emerged from the participants’ perceptions of the Portuguese cultural and social assimilationist system. The majority of the participants emphasised the practical nature of the colonial policy that focused on the idea of ‘*dividere ed imperare*’. This policy resulted in a factor that came to poison and sour the relationship between the *mulattoes* and the *culturally assimilated black*. For instance, the cultural impact of Portuguese policy of racial discrimination upon *assimilados*’ cultural and associative efforts, prompted in fact the emergence of an associative divorce, by leading the creation of separate cultural centres for the *mulattoes* and for the assimilated blacks. As stated by Hedges and Rocha: “*o regime aproveitou as divergencias sociais entre mestios e negros assimilados para dividir o movimento associativo*” (1999: 62, see also pgs. 66-67).

range: 'dark *mulatto*' whose ancestors were *mulatto* and black (*mulatos de terceira*); 'slightly dark', whose progenitors were already mixed (*mulatos de segunda*), and 'light mulatto', whose ancestry was composed by a white man and a black woman (*mulatos de primeira*). Therefore, regarding this evidence, I have adopted the notion of African, because it better depicts the cultural richness and diversity anchored to these people's identity and history. Moreover, the use of the term *mulatto* serves more a colonial discourse, rather than the crossing of races, religions and cultures in which Africa was, and still is embedded.

With reference to the immigrating status of these respondents, it is necessary to locate their identity trajectory within the Portuguese assimilation policy. As stated in chapter 4, the colonial discourse focused its attention on ambiguously treating the assimilated people as Portuguese citizens. In fact, according to the Portuguese colonial structure, those who were acceptable were all considered Portuguese citizens. However, with the Mozambican independence (June, 25<sup>th</sup> 1975), the assimilated population was given the opportunity of either maintaining their Portuguese identity, or to receiving the Mozambican nationality. Some of the participants, galvanised by the new revolutionary winds, adopted the Mozambican nationality; others decided to opt for the Portuguese nationality. Technically speaking, it is possible to identify three situations on their departure from Mozambique. Firstly, those who, after leaving Mozambique had to apply for Portuguese nationality, because the Mozambican government had compelled them to relinquish their nationality. Secondly, those who were convinced they would have Portuguese nationality and realised on their arrival that they were not officially



recognised as Portuguese. They also had to apply for Portuguese nationality .Thirdly, those who remained Portuguese after departing Mozambique.

To be precise, the abovementioned situations fell easily into the definition of migration, a process that consists of a population “*flight from natural disasters, adverse climatic changes, famine and territorial aggression ...*” (Cashmore, 1996: 238). In reality, all the participants left Mozambique voluntarily, in spite of their strong opposition to the new ideological project of FRELIMO (see Chapter 4). But, most important to this research, is from which point of view should African Mozambicans’ trajectory to Portugal and England be addressed. Two alternative perspectives may be considered: individuals who had left their homeland to settle in another country – as emigrants -; or individuals who have come into a foreign country as a permanent residence – as immigrants – notwithstanding the feelings, emotions and perceptions they have in relation to the host society.

The reading of the data suggested a substantial gap between the historical Portuguese heritage and the participants’ perceptions of Portuguese society. If from a colonial stance they believed they were ‘*all Portuguese*’, psychologically and socially they recognised Portugal as a foreign land in contrast to what had been told to them during the time they were living under the imposed colonial structure. In this respect, to possess a Portuguese nationality and to feel Portuguese is thought of by the respondents as divergent realities (see Chapters 6 and 7). England was also considered a foreign country in terms of culture and language. According to these data, it was decided to address African Mozambican individuals as immigrants, due to their acculturative features as permanent residents in Portugal and in England.

Basically, the empirical evidence showed that African Mozambicans' process of immigration either to Portugal or England was more a family project than an individual one. Even those who departed from their homeland alone were already connected to a family – mainly a sibling, a cousin, a daughter or a son - flow of immigration to the receiving country which had been initiated previously. Moreover, the organisation of the data have thrown light on three specific periods of African Mozambican immigration to Portugal:

- a) **First Moment of Immigration:** from 1976 to 1977, was shortly after the Mozambican independence (1975, 25<sup>th</sup> June). From the sample, seven individuals are reported to have departed from Mozambique. The reasons underlying their project of immigration to Portugal is related to the feeling of insecurity and inconformity with the economic, social and cultural reforms proposed by FRELIMO;
- b) **Second Moment of Immigration:** covered the years of 1979, 1982 and 1983; ten individuals are seen to have left Mozambique. This group is composed of individuals that enthusiastically embraced the Mozambican revolution. Regardless of their initial optimism and faith in the new FRELIMO's project, hostile and degrading living conditions deriving from the economic and political program applied by the government, forced them to leave Mozambique in search of a better future and stability in Portugal;



- c) **Third Moment of Immigration:** lasted from 1984 to 1989, three individuals were shown to have left Mozambique. As illustrated by the figures, these were the years that have witnessed a low flow of immigration. Nonetheless, data results detected that political as well professional dissatisfaction and frustration were the key motives underlying these individuals' immigration project.

#### 5.3.3.2 *African Mozambican Immigrants in Portugal and England*

Before moving forward, it is important and relevant to report that although the cultural trajectories of the participants was in accordance with the structure proposed in this research, the assembled data identified six particular acculturative experiences:

- a) Luisa left Mozambique in 1977 and went first to Malawi, then Zimbabwe and Portugal. She has been living and working in England, since 1989;
- b) Ricardo also departed from Mozambique in 1977, and went to India where he lived until 1982; arrived in Portugal on the same year. In 1990, he decided to go to England;
- c) Daniela went out from Mozambique in 1977 to Portugal; then she went to live and work in the United States and, afterwards, she immigrated to England, in 1997;
- d) Julio left Mozambique in 1982 for Portugal. After that, he went to Luxembourg, before he returned to Portugal. Then, in 1995 emigrated to Germany. He has lived in England since 2001;

- e) Andre departed from Mozambique in 1984 to Portugal. For many years, he lived and worked in several European countries, for instance, Germany. He Arrived in England in 2000;
- f) Mafalda left Mozambique in 1983 and lived six months with her family in Swaziland. In 1984, she arrived in Portugal. She has been living and working in England, since 1987.

In Portugal, they lived in the suburbs of the great metropolitan area of Lisbon – such as Amadora, Cacem, Areeiro, Oeiras. Their permanence in Portugal varied from four to twenty two years. Regarding the flow of African Mozambican immigration to England, the data showed that the process initiated in 1985. The motives underlying Mozambican immigration to England were chiefly professional, financial and educational. Most participants opted for living and working<sup>64</sup> either in the central or in the surroundings areas of London:

- a) Baker Street (zone 1);
- b) Elephant and Castle (zones 1 and 2);
- c) Kilburn (zone 2);
- d) Hendon Central (zone 3);
- e) Hounslow (zones 3 and 4);
- f) Hounslow East (zone 4);
- g) Harrow-on-the-Hill (zone 5);
- h) Ruislip Manor (zone 6);
- i) Uxbridge (zone 6);

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<sup>64</sup> They occupy positions such as secretariat, administration, management, interpreter, technical help. One of the participants has his own business. Two others are still studying.



j) Peckam.

#### ***5.3.4 Fieldwork Design III: Historical Research***

The last phase of the fieldwork was developed in Maputo, Mozambique, at Eduardo Mondlane University – Centre of African Studies. It lasted from February to April 2002. Throughout these months, I attempted to enrich my knowledge of Mozambican history, and to talk to Mozambican researchers of the scope of my research. Undoubtedly, this was a rich experience and research opportunity. On the one hand, I felt capable of blending the literature review, and the methodological framework with the historical and sociological background of the participants. On the other, at the University's library as well at the Arquivo Historico of Maputo, I found important information on the Mozambican independence process, FRELIMO's ideological project for the Mozambican society, and documental sources specifically addressed to how issues such as music, literature, education, health were treated by FRELIMO, after independence.

Unfortunately, no records, either statistical or historical<sup>65</sup>, on Mozambican emigration/immigration were found either at Eduardo Mondlane University, or at the Arquivo Historico in Maputo. In fact, people's reactions regarding the scope of my research consolidated my belief that this original project would present serious problems in gathering any kind of official demographic statistics concerning precise information on who left Mozambique and when. The reasons for this could be due to

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<sup>65</sup> Only one article was found to report limited information on the flow of process of Mozambican emigration. Rita-Ferreira's(1998) article offers an analytic reading of the factors that have compelled white Portuguese and Asian communities to flee Mozambique.

the political turmoil which ensued after Independence (1975). Finally, by the end of my fieldwork, I was invited to give a seminar about my research (2002, 19<sup>th</sup> April), by the Centre of African Studies, at Eduardo Mondlane University.

#### 5.4 Fieldwork and Reflexivity

As argued by Ellis and Bochner (2000) *“to a greater or lesser extent, researchers incorporate their personal experiences and standpoints in their research”* (2000: 741). To be honest, I have thought of this project not only as research, but rather as a search for other Mozambicans who like me, have left Mozambique to go to Portugal and England. Moreover, I was also curious about what they felt when they were living in Portugal, what reasons forced them to go to England, and how they felt in terms of their identity. Although this research did not intend to embrace to an autoethnographic<sup>66</sup> methodology (see, Ellis and Bochner, 1996a, 1996b, 2000; Hayano<sup>67</sup>, 1979), during the preparation of my fieldwork in Mozambique I started self-questioning<sup>68</sup> about my own background, my relationship with the place where I was born, what people living there would think of me, and how they would perceive

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<sup>66</sup> As referred to by Ellis and Bochner (2000): *“autoethnography is autobiographical genre of writing and research displays multiple layers of consciousness, connecting the personal to the cultural. Back and forth autoethnographers gaze, first through an ethnographic wide-angle lens, focusing outward on social and cultural aspects of their personal experience. Then, they look inward, exposing a vulnerable self that is moved by and may move through, refract, and resist cultural interpretations (see Deck, 1990; Neumann, 1996; Reed-Danahay, 1997). Usually written in first-person voice, autoethnographic texts appear in a variety of forms – short stories, poetry, fiction, novels, photographic essays, personal essays, journals, fragmented and layered writing, and social science prose. In these texts, concrete action, dialogue, emotion, embodiment, spirituality, and self-consciousness are featured, appearing as relational and institutional stories affected by history, social structure, and culture, which themselves are dialectically revealed through action, feeling, thought and language”* (2000: 739).

<sup>67</sup> Hayano (1979) has been usually credited as the originator of the term autoethnography.

<sup>68</sup> As took into account by Ellis and Bochner (2000) *“the self-questioning autoethnography demands is extremely difficult. So is confronting things about yourself that are less flattering. Believe me, honest autoethnographic exploration generates a lot of fears and doubts – and emotional pain”* (2000: 738).



me. Suddenly, I noticed that I was afraid of tackling an issue that I had never explored during my all life: *“what does Mozambique represent to me?”*; *“How should I approach those people living there?”*; *“Will I be treated as a stranger?”*; *“Am I ready to go through this research, bearing in mind all the insecurities I am feeling inside?”*.

#### ***5.4.1 The Researcher as an Identity Intrusion***

The moment I landed in Maputo (February, 27<sup>th</sup> 2002) was the moment I realised that I was about to go through an emotional upheaval. The first days seemed so strange to me: the language, the peculiar accent people had when they were talking – it was not the same Portuguese that I have spoken all my life -, the environment, the food, the colours, the exotic nature. At the same time, everything looked so extraordinary to my eyes, so peculiar, but so distant. I realised that here, in Maputo, in contrast with the participants, I did not have either a past, or a memory, only the fact that I was born here bound me to the land in which I would be staying for two months. Being conscious of this disadvantage, I made every effort to keep my research away from my own frailty and ontological doubts. My European background, my ideological beliefs were my focus all the time and my lens when I was approached by people at the University, and in public places. However, progressively, I found myself embracing the environment and I just let myself flow into this new social and cultural setting. In fact, this was a personal growth both to me and to my research. From time to times, I was revisited by my fears, assaulted by the awkward sentiment that one day I would have to leave my homeland behind, and return to my ordinary life with a new challenge inside me: that I was a product of a

crossing of races, cultures and influences, and that ‘Mozambique’ has taught me that Africa is a cradle of a cultural ‘rainbow’.

#### **5.4.2    *The Researcher as the ‘Other’***

Throughout many situations, I could see that people with whom I was interacting did perceive me as a stranger, as someone that, definitively, did not belong to their place and local culture. Actually, walking on the streets gave me the exact idea that I was seen as an outside element, because of the way I dressed, the way I talked, the expressions that I employed, and the manner I behaved. I still have a vivid memory of one particular day: I went into a bookshop, I asked the lady who was serving about the price of the book I wished to buy. She immediately asked where I was from – “*I can see that you are not Mozambican from your accent*”; I replied by saying that I was indeed Mozambican, but I had left Mozambique when I was four years old, and after twenty five years I was revisiting my homeland. Another situation deserves to be told: one day at Eduardo Mondlane University, a student approached me by commenting on the elegance of my way of dressing. I thanked her for her comments, but inside I just blew away, because I suddenly saw that I could not ignore the fact that my own identity was bluntly exposed to others’ eyes.

### **5.5    Conclusions**

By looking back to my fieldwork, I am convinced that I was capable of evolving my research towards a way through which I managed to articulate both the theoretical, methodological and the historical framework with the data collection. There was a clear endeavour to guide this fieldwork in accordance with these chapters, also with



the research hypothesis and research expectations previously identified (see Chapter 1). Therefore, the option for the suitable adequate interview technique, as well as its structure and construction were based upon the theoretical framework (including both methodological and historical literature) delineated during the preceding chapters (see Chapters 2, 3, and 4). Furthermore, each fieldwork design corresponded to a particular research purpose, though each phase has followed sequentially.

Reflections on the issue of reflexivity were taken into account, in order to examine carefully how research cannot only be represented as an academic task. On the contrary, how it might also be permeable to the researcher's identity and cultural background. In this respect, two intertwined issues were brought into analysis. On the one hand, the researcher's approach to the subject of examination and represented as the 'other', on the other hand, how the researcher might be perceived as the 'other' within a scene of contrasting identities and realities (Iturra, 1986).

The intertwining of each chapter provided this research with the theoretical architecture and empirical evidence through which it will be possible to move towards an ordered analysis of the collected data. Further research attention will be paid on the acculturation modes and identity strategies developed by African Mozambican immigrants in Portugal and England (Chapter 6), and on the construction of their identity and ethnicity narratives on the subject of the Mozambican immigration panorama (Chapter 7).

## 6 African Mozambican Immigrants - Narratives of Immigration, and Strategies of Acculturation and Identity in Portugal and in England

*“Um velho ditado mandinga dizia  
que o mundo é velho e que o  
futuro  
sai do passado”.*

Joana Ruas

The aim of this chapter is to analyse African Mozambican immigrants' modes of acculturation, and identity strategies developed either in Portugal or in England. Therefore, an investigation of the reasons that have drawn these immigrants out of Mozambique will be explored. Having this in mind, an association will be established between these immigrants' post independence representations of the events that have taken place in Mozambique, and the immigration process to Portugal. Following this trajectory, the analysis will also address Mozambican immigrants' perceptions of Portuguese society and examine to what extent those views have affected their modes of acculturation in Portugal. Finally, there will be an exploration of how these acculturative strategies might be determined by the immigrants' strategies of identity in the context of their new life within Portuguese society. In order to understand these acculturative and identity processes, the analysis will also endeavour to contextualise the Mozambican immigrants' decision to initiate



one further immigration process, this time to England. These immigrants' strategies will be addressed and explored subsequently.

With this in mind, the intention is to observe how these immigrants accounted for their identities according to a chronological order of the events that occurred in their lives. In this respect, the methodological assumption (see Chapter 3) that individuals drew on a narrative form to constructively configure their own identities, and review the perceptions they held about the social world will be discussed.

Conforming with the methodological framework adopted, attention will be given to the discursive devices (interpretative repertoires; see Porter, 1996; Billig, 1991; Gill, 1996; Wetherell and Potter, 1988) these immigrants have used to respond to the social structures of both receiving societies, to stage their agency, and fashion their identities (Rosenwald and Ochberg, 1992; Riessman, 1993).

The development of the data analysis will be ordered in accordance with the theoretical, methodological, historical framework, and the fieldwork technique (and content) employed to undertake the interviews (see Chapter 5). Bearing in mind the need to order the flow of the data, it was decided to structure this chapter as follows:

- a) *Narrative Moment of Analysis I* will look at Mozambicans' perceptions of Portuguese colonialism; the racial and cultural discriminatory colonial practices;
- b) *Narrative Moment of Analysis II* will analyse these immigrants' views of the post independent process, regarding FRELIMO's revolutionary project of a

new Mozambican society; the social and economic changes that took place; the prevailing colonial legacy of racialized identities; finally the immigration project to Portugal;

c) *Narrative Moment of Analysis III* will examine Mozambicans' perceptions of Portuguese society; their modes of acculturation, and identity strategies;

d) *Narrative Moment of Analysis IV* will look at these immigrants' reasons to immigrate to England; their representations of the new receiving society; modes of acculturation, and identity strategies;

e) *Conclusive Narrative Moment V* will offer an overall account of the development anchored to the trajectories undertaken by these individuals, by introducing an explanatory link between this acculturative and identity course with the representations these immigrants held about their own identity, and ethnicity (see Chapter 7).

## **6.1 Narrative Moment of Analysis I: Life in Mozambique**

Although historical documentation has substantially documented the nature of the Portuguese assimilation policy (Alexandre, 2000; Rocha, 1996; Newitt, 1995; Isaacman *et al.*, 1983; Mondlane, 1977; Pereira, 1986), it was considered to be important to listen to Mozambican immigrants' perceptions on the Portuguese colonial system. Having this in mind, participants were invited to express what were their feelings about the colonial system, how Mozambican society was organised, and how they vividly sensed the colonial policy of racial and cultural division on



their lives. Confronted with these enquiries, most of the respondents declared that the distinction between the system *per se*, and the white Portuguese community was relevant. To many of these immigrants, the two social realities could not be perceived as overlapping, because not all white Portuguese individuals went along with the colonial system. As documented earlier (Chapter 5), even within the white community there was a clear line, which divided the white elite from those poor Portuguese immigrants who I had come to Africa to search for a better life – the ‘*Portugueses de segunda*’:

Andre: “*atenção eu quando me refiro ao colonialista não me estou a referir à sociedade, estou-me a referir ao sistema, atenção, porque o colonialista independentemente de ser português, ..., o colonialista não é a sociedade, o colonialista é o sistema que ele impõe*”.

The colonial system was perceived by the immigrants as being racist, discriminatory, whereby its strength was sustained by an assimilation policy through which the native population was ordered and divided along racial, social, and ethnic categories. One of the participants stated that the colonial State was perverted when through its practice it also fanned the existing tribal and regional cleavages among the African populations:

Agostinho: “*O governo colono, tanto o inglês como o português, aproveitaram-se dessa lacuna que existia entre os africanos, o tal tribalismo. Mas isso eram táticas do colonialismo, táticas do colono português: dividir para melhor reinar, criou tribalismo, regionalismo*”.

According to some respondents, the colonial system did not only promote racial identities, but was cunning in stimulating discrimination and racism among the population (see Rocha, 1996). Many of these immigrants revealed that a mulatto, or an assimilated black did not interact with the indigenous population<sup>69</sup> because of their social status, convinced by the colonial ideology that assimilated individuals were superior, and should conformed with that sentiment:

Claudia: *“Eu tenho descendencia de mistura e, realmente, notava-se que havia uma grande influencia de reprimir os negros; nao havia muito respeito e eles tinham uma grande dificuldade de estudar...”*;

Paulo: *“...havia a escola oficial, ... os negros, nem todos tinham o direito de estar na escola, estudavam em missoes ...”*.

Also, some of the interviewed have added that even within the assimilated category it was noticeable that there was some sort of hierarchy and discrimination based upon an individual's skin tone:

Sofia: *“Havia, havia distinção entre negros e mulatos. Havia, nao so entre negros e mulatos, mas entre os proprios mulatos. Havia uns que se consideravam mulatos de primeira, tinham um bom estatuto, quer dizer, porque estavam em bons empregos de primeira, tinham uma vida financeira muito boa, e diziam-se mulatos de primeira”* ;

Daniela: *“em Moçambique, sempre se notou aquela diferença que havia entre o negro e o mulato, havia essa diferença, aquela coisa de ‘eu sou mulato e tu és negro’, havia aquele conflito”*.

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<sup>69</sup> As reported by Rocha regarding the consequences associated with assimilation policy: *“desenvolveu-se, a par duma fidelidade sem equívocos aos valores coloniais, manifestada muitas vezes sob puma forma muito dura por um profundo racismo face aos seus irmaos de cor (mas nao de condição), e assumindo por vezes aspectos ridiculos e tragicos de imitação”* (Rocha, 1996: 324).



The colonial system allegedly favoured the assimilated population, and intimately related to this system was the intention of forming a group of individuals whose conduct and values would serve and reproduce a colonial structure of economic exploitation, and cultural discrimination (Rocha, 1996; Mondlane, 1995). However, its practices revealed to be contradictory and limitative in terms of education, jobs, easy access to public areas, and psychologically malicious to the assimilated people<sup>70</sup>:

Julio: *“Sofriamos, naquela altura, muita discriminação, via-se muito racismo .... Muitas vezes, não podíamos partilhar dos mesmos locais públicos, como restaurantes, ou bares, ou cafés. ...isso ... provocava um certo atraso e complexo ...”*;

Ana: *“...havia restrições, lembro-me perfeitamente nos autocarros, porque havia uma parte onde o bilhete era mais barato para quem tivesse menos posses, e claro, quem tinha menos posses era o pessoal ...”*.

Referring to the paradoxical aspects intrinsic to Portuguese colonialism, most of the participants stated that they remembered an official colonial speech that promoted the mythical assumption of a non-existence of racism in Mozambique<sup>71</sup>. In fact, this

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<sup>70</sup> As earlier outlined (see Chapter 4), by Mondlane (1983: 49) the ‘assimilado’ “finds himself at a disadvantage: he always has to do better than a Portuguese...”.

<sup>71</sup>Castelo commented (1998) that the Portuguese colonial apparatus was based upon the myth, or the belief that it could bring the native population to a certain state of civilisation. Similarly, Alexandre (1995) has asserted that [my own translation]: “everywhere colonisation was made in the name, either of the need to explore the wealth of African territories, or the duty of ‘elevating’ the underdeveloped and inferior races, by mirroring the benefits of the Western civilisation” (1998: 50-1). In this respect, Urrutia (2000) emphasised the Western empires’ need to subjugate and discredit the African native population, to regain from this distorted psychological manoeuvre its lost image of virtue, balance, sobriety, modernity, progress, beauty and precision. According to Urrutia (2000): “*Em Africa, o Ocidente entornava, como num poço, a sua malignidade, aquela que queria fazer parecer que tinha abandonado. E da negrura desse poço, não tanto poço de água mas sim da mina, extraía o*

evidence is a reminder of Newitt's (1995) observation that Portuguese law had never recognised a colour bar, and from this political stance people of all races were considered to possess the status of non-indigenous, or '*assimilado*'. In spite of this premise, as noticed by Newitt (1995) "*restrictions of all kinds had been placed in the way of Africans or mestizos acquiring posts in the administration or with private firms or developing businesses which might challenge the economic position of white*" (1995: 477). In regard to Newitt's evidence, Penvenne (quoted in Newitt)<sup>72</sup> argued that in its overriding desire to control labour costs and eliminate all Mozambican organisations, the State imposed a series of hurdles in the way of Africans who sought a role for themselves as non-indigenous people. Moreover, Penvenne reported that the '*assimilados*' were subjected to a periodic review aimed at examining whether or not an individual's behaviour was still conformed with Portuguese norms: "*if an inspection visit was anticipated, the subject's circle of friends would contribute whatever material accoutrements (dishes, utensils, chairs, tables, linens, etc.) might be necessary to impress the inspector. Informants recalled hilarious community scrambles to fix a soon-to-be-inspected household up to standard*" (Penvenne, quoted in Newitt, 1995: 477).

According to the participants, although the colonial State had made all efforts to conceal its racist ideology and practices, daily difficulties and specific details associated with the social organization of the colony would reveal its intention of economic control, and human discrimination:

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*reflexo do que pretendia parecer: virtude, equilibrio, sobriedade, exactidao, modernidade, progresso, beleza*" (2000: 171; see also, Patraquim, quoted in Laban, 1998: 947).

<sup>72</sup> Penvenne, J-M. (unpublished paper; quoted in Newitt, 1995:477), '*Taxation, registration, unionization, licensing and conscription: African accommodation of New State labour policies: Lourenço Marques, 1932-1962*'.



Andre: “...em Moçambique, nos vivíamos numa sociedade que, aparentemente, dizia-nos que não havia apartheid, mas existia um apartheid encoberto. ...por exemplo, nas listagens havia um factor que sobressaia muito que era a classificação dos alunos, quando saíam as pautas ...com as indicações que eu me recordo: era E, M, A, I, e o que é que isto queria dizer? Queria dizer que, o E era o europeu, M que era o mestiço, o A que era o asiático, e o I que era o indígena ... não havia apartheid, mas sentia-se que havia uma divisão .... O que é isso senão o apartheid?”.

Taking a close look of the participants’ living conditions during the colonial system, it is possible to argue that following their desire to establish a social and psychological distinctiveness, to get rid of the supposed advantages related to their assimilated status, they went along with FRELIMO’s liberation struggle for independence and national consolidation. The majority of these immigrants showed the expectations they held on FRELIMO’s determination to give back to the people of Mozambique “*their right to self-determination and ...inalienable right to national independence*” (Mozambican Revolution, 1974: 21).

## **6.2 Narrative Moment of Analysis II: FRELIMO and the ‘New Mozambican’ Society**

Although the majority of urban African inhabitants were not acquainted with FRELIMO’s longstanding liberation activities, the arrival of FRELIMO and its troops, and their obvious intention to create a Mozambican national authority, captured the minds of the Mozambican population, and resuscitated their hope for a better future beyond colonial abuses and exploitation. An attempt to explore

participants' emotions associated with FRELIMO's agenda, revealed that all the interviewed embraced the revolution with enthusiasm, and euphoria:

Sara: *"Fiquei muito satisfeita, porque o pais ia ficar independente";*

Andre: *"Eu, nessa altura, euforicamente, eu recebo aquilo como uma dadiva caída do céu";*

Ana: *"Fiquei bem, fiquei feliz porque estava a viver num pais independente, merecedor da sua independencia ...".*

A careful reading of data has indicated that the participants intentionally drew upon specific expressions such as: *'be engaged with'* [estar engajada com]; *'the process'* [o processo]; *'the people'* [o povo]; *'the ideology'* [a ideologia]; *'the party'* [o partido – FRELIMO]; *'we, Mozambicans'* [nos, moçambicanos], were used to portray their political commitment to FRELIMO, and simultaneously to demonstrate that they no longer wished to be identified as Portuguese, but rather as Mozambicans. In fact, those expressions served to legitimise the identity changes and reinforce the discourse arising from it.

An association between the data and the methodological framework showed that the participants' expressions fell into what discourse analysis practitioners have identified as interpretative repertoires. A concept that Porter (1996: 130) has identified as consisting of a *"related set of forms ... historically [developed] and make up an important part of the 'common sense' of a culture"*. According to this author, interpretative repertoires are said to be a tool with which individuals *"construct the sense of a particular phenomenon"* and *"perform different actions"*



(Porter, 1996: 131). A similar approach to Porter's definition, has been demonstrated by Edley and Wetherell, by arguing that (1999) "*society provides us with a set of ready-made resources ... to think and talk about the world*" (1999: 182).

The participants' use of those interpretative repertoires demonstrated a need to bring their identities into a narrative form-telling, or in a Bruner's (1987) vocabulary to imbue their identifications with a sense of storied moment with a beginning, a development stage, and an end. Giving to their identities a narrative structure, the respondents clearly intended to justify: firstly the way they guided their action (Somers and Gibson, 1998), and secondly their claims for a Mozambican identity (Riessman, 1993):

Sofia: "*Ao principio, ate direi, estava engajada no processo da independencia, porque eu tambem estava, realmente, com vontade que Moçambique se tornasse um pais independente, um pais livre para nos, moçambicanos, desenvolvermos aquilo que nos consideravamos que era nosso*";

Agostinho: "*Moçambique é para os moçambicanos, sao os moçambicanos que tem de reinar, sao os moçambicanos que tem de criar rules naquele pais, sao os moçambicanos que tem que levar aquilo para a frente*";

Andre: "*tivemos uma posicao muito radical, tomamos rapidamente muita consciencia, quisemos ser todos politicos, quisemos ser nacionalistas, partimos todos como sendo socialistas, cem por cento moçambicanos*".

### **6.2.1 African Mozambican Immigrants' Perceptions of FRELIMO Policies**

Notwithstanding the primary euphoria, increasingly a watershed was drawn between FRELIMO's revolutionary project and the social actors' perceptions of it. When

confronted with this issue, immediately, their discourse turned from a dialogue fraught with revolutionary expressions and nationalist feelings, to a more conflicting political stance:

Helena: *“o problema nao era a FRELIMO, o problema era os dirigentes, a ideologia da FRELIMO era boa, agora, os politicos, os dirigentes que estavam a frente nao souberam aplicar na pratica essa ideologia”*;

Ana: *“eu falando de mim, acho que as pessoas, muitas das pessoas, muitos dos dirigentes ainda nao estavam muito bem preparados, ou entao, nao sabiam orientar o seu proprio povo”*;

Julio: *“A FRELIMO entra com o conceito de nos libertar e nos sentimos isso, so que no decorrer do processo uma pessoa começa a entrar em conflito consigo mesma em ver que ... um partido que eu servi e que dei tudo, começa a tomar conta de nos proprios...”*.

The discussion of the topic of FRELIMO's perceived failure, showed a complete reversal of the meaning of the above expressions. The emergent feeling that independence was being wrongly managed by FRELIMO, led the participants to use the same interpretative repertoires to outline their criticisms and disappointment. And, simultaneously, they introduced new terms: *'the leaders'* – reporting to FRELIMO's representatives' [os dirigentes]; *'the politicians'* [os politicos]. This empirical evidence, is reminder a of Porter's (1996) argument that individuals *“often draw on a number of different repertoires, flitting between them as they construct the sense of a particular phenomenon or as they perform different actions”* (1996: 131).

Effectively, through reformulating the meaning associated with some of the previous expressions, the respondents upheld their perceptions of the independence process,



and, at the same time, validated their non-identification with FRELIMO's practices. Thus, it is feasible to argue that a shift from a positive to a negative significance proves what, social interactionists (e.g. Fine, 1993) social constructivists (e.g. Burr, 1999; Gergen, 1985), and narrative theorists (e.g. Riessman, 1993; Bruner, 1987) have been advocating: *"that people construct identities"* (Somers and Gibson, 1998), and they also reconsider the views that they hold of the social world, based on units of temporality ('the where and when contexts of the narrative'), and units of contextuality/relationality ('with who?'; 'in relation to'; 'between what').

### ***6.2.2 The Aftermaths of Independence: The Socio and Economic Context***

An analysis of the evidence from the data showed that was not the FRELIMO's ideology that posed a problem to the participants, it was the vast reformulation that took place at an educational, economical, health, justice (Rita-Ferreira, 1998; Newitt, 1995) and cultural (Borges, 2001) level that forced them to re-examine their support and confidence in the party's agenda:

Ana: *"eu tentei aguentar a situação da falta de generos alimenticios, enfim, nao era so eu, porque eu notava que eram todos os moçambicanos: alimentação, medicação, tudo, o estudo era precario ..."*;

Daniela: *"lembro-me que para comprar pao estava tudo estipulado, so podiamos comprar ... por exemplo cinco paezinhos e tinhas que fazer bicha"*;

Helena: *"nos saimos por causa da educação, nos começamos a ver os problemas nas escolas"*.

Unpredictably, it was these unexpected modifications, emerging from FRELIMO's program, that led most of these immigrants to compare the social and economic circumstances with those that existed during the time of Portuguese colonialism. Concerning this use of past memories, Ellis and Bochner (2000) suggested that narratives are not only a story "about the past and not the past itself. Narrative ... seeks to keep the past alive in the present" (2000: 745), and through this, individuals are able to rearrange, re-describe, and revise their perceptions of the surrounding world, and of their own identities. It is a strategy that Crites (1971) said is an individual's need to maintain "a continuity of experience over time". In this respect, the data referred to the existence of a certain nostalgia for the living conditions they used to have, despite the obstacles attached to them. Furthermore, it was possible to detect that participants increasingly resorted to expressions associated with a colonial vocabulary:: 'colonialism' [colonialismo]; 'the white' [os brancos]; 'privileged' [privilegiados]; 'colonial system' [sistema colonial]:

Joana: "*a independencia deveria ter sido conseguida, mas nao daquela maneira. No tempo do colonialismo, o meu pais era bom de se viver. Recebia-se pouco, mas dava para viver*";

Paulo: "*mas depois, começou aquela fome, acho que o povo caiu na realidade, começaram a falar – 'Ah! Era melhor com os brancos que ao menos tínhamos comida, agora nao temos comida nem trabalho'...*";

Claudia: "*nos eramos privilegiados, porque tínhamos uma casa, os nossos pais tinham uma educação basica ...e era uma situação privilegiada em relação a muitas pessoas. Durante o sistema colonial as pessoas tinham dificuldades, mas nao chegaram a miseria fisica, foi uma crise nacional...*";



Not only did the respondents describe the precarious situation linked to the shortage of food, and the degradation of educational and health structures, the interviews also indicated a progressive reluctance of the individuals to politically embrace FRELIMO's desire to create a new generation of men and women whose conduct would rigorously respect the premise that national authority ought to be based on the popular masses. In fact, the majority of the participants rejected FRELIMO's great effort to launch a 'mental cleansing' [limpar as mentalidades]; 'to force a change of personality' [obrigar a mudar de personalidade]; 'to discriminate' [discriminar], to the detriment of individuals' personality, personal goals and thoughts. As reported previously (see Chapter 4), FRELIMO's idea of a new society implied the creation of the 'new Man'. In concrete terms, they meant the making of Mozambican men and women whose energy had to be focused on serving the country, and the popular masses' needs, to establish new social relations under the idea of fraternity and equality; men and women set free from the colonial spirit, with a collectively oriented mind; men and women conscious of the capacities linked with popular power. Ultimately, the building of a society where individualism should be absorbed by collectivism<sup>73</sup>. Confronted with these political demands, most of the interviewed confessed they were unprepared to adopt these kinds of mental values and behaviour norms:

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<sup>73</sup> Armando Artur, a Mozambican writer once described the lack of individual freedom restricted by FRELIMO's policy during the years of national consolidation and popular mobilisation: "*acima de tudo, foi um projecto que remeteu o homem singular ao segundo plano. Em qualquer projecto social, o homem singular, o individuo é importante. Tinha que ser nos, 'nos o povo'. Confundia-se tudo, misturava-se tudo no todo*" (Artur, quoted in Laban, 1998: 1154). One other Mozambican writer, Eduardo White, also outlined this political frustration as follows: "*porque quero dizer tambem que foi um projecto bonito, um grande projecto. Foi um projecto que os homens do meu pais nao mereceram, porque o trairam. Trairam esse projecto e trairam-se. Vamos dizer assim : nunca houve uma censura que se mostrasse, uma censura como instituicao. Mas houve pior, houve a autocensura: as pessoas olhavam-se para dentro, as pessoas perderam a noção do eu. Quando eu pensava, eu dizia: 'Nos pensamos que ...'*" (White, quoted in Laban, 1998: 1189-90).

Agostinho: *“erros de andarem a discriminar ...andarem a perseguir, nao deixarem que as pessoas tivessem opcoes politicas livres .... Possivelmente, tinha sido uma estrategia da FRELIMO, que era limpar as mentalidades”*;

Julio: *“um partido que começa a tomar conta de nos proprios, entao, isso vai-nos obrigar a mudar de personalidade”*;

Luisa: *“depois com a mudança politica, as pessoas para nao se envolverem em problemas começaram a sair de Moçambique. Problemas politicos. Nos, por exemplo, tinhamos que seguir o que o governo dizia ...”*;

Andre: *“desilusoes politicas,... porque, na alture, entrei em choque comigo mesmo, nao deixei de ser favoravel ao sistema, ... havia a propaganda de um sistema e estava-se a implantar outra coisa”*;

Paulo: *“era quase uma ditadura”*.

### ***6.2.3 Racialised Identities: The Cultural Legacy of Portuguese Colonialism***

As noticed by Cabaço (2002) colonialism itself lasted long beyond the Mozambican political independence. Whether or not, a political decolonisation process occurred in Mozambique it was not a topic that was discussed. However, an examination of the influence of colonial assimilation policy on these individuals' identities produced relevant information: firstly, it assisted me to understand their resistance to FRELIMO's program; secondly, it enabled me to link that information with their project of immigration to Portugal. The spontaneous nationalist fervour associated with the feeling of Mozambican freedom and consolidation, was gradually replaced by social discomfort and disagreement regarding FRELIMO's refusal to accept a society structured on the existance of different races, tribes, and religious belief.



Shortly after Mozambican independence, Samora Machel clearly proclaimed that “*we do not recognise tribes, races or religious belief*” (*Review of African Political Economy*, 1975 (4): 23). As documented by Opello (1976) FRELIMO went on developing major strategies to fight against racism, tribalism, regionalism reproduced by the “*pyramidal social structure*” (1976: 70) imposed by the colonial State.

After independence (1975) political activity was aimed at eliminating any sort of social and cultural distinction among the population, and therefore to dismantle the division between indigenous and assimilated individuals. In accordance with FRELIMO’s belief, all individuals were Mozambicans, regardless of his/her social status, cultural background, and religious faith. Having this in mind, a revolutionary project was established and built in conformity with FRELIMO’s notion of national unification, and popular political mobilisation (Isaacman *et al.*, 1983; Borges, 2001).

Taking in account the participants’ perceptions, the data showed the great impact the colonial system still played upon their lives. Clearly, their narratives illustrated how the assimilation policy of inducing racial separatism and racism among the African inhabitants was effective (Rocha, 1996), specially the racist attitudes from the assimilated toward the indigenous:

*Andre: “na minha juventude apercebia-me que eu sendo mulato ...havia uma influencia muito grande, principalmente, quando o branco me dizia a mim que eu nao era igual ao negro .... ... eu era influenciado por essa situacao, nao so eu como muita gente, portanto, nos nao tinhamos consciencia exacta de sermos africanos, quais seriam os nossos valores. Entao, foi uma arma do colonialista para considerar o mulato acima do negro ...foi um aspecto de estrato social em dizer que eu sou*

*superior ao negro, sou mais assimilado que o negro, porque sou mais aproximado ao branco”.*

Once again, the colonial vocabulary is used to protect their accounts and to legitimise the dynamic change of identification from ‘us, Mozambicans’ [nos, moçambicanos]; ‘the people’ [o povo] to ‘us, the assimilated’ distinct from ‘the people’ [o povo], ‘from those blacks’ [daqueles pretos]:

Joana: “*sai da minha terra por causa daqueles pretos*”;

Helena: “*eles deveriam ter feito as coisas de outra maneira, ter em conta que certas pessoas nao entendem certas coisas, ... chamaram o povo todo, aquele pessoal que estava habituado ao mato para a cidade*”.

According to the participants, during the political campaign of FRELIMO they had also to face racist and discriminatory behaviours from the people, because of the social status they have been given during Portuguese colonialism:

Sandra: “*houve muito racismo de negros para comigo ...porque eu sou mista .... Eles diziam –‘Ah! Vao para a terra dos vossos avos, voces sao mistos, vao para a terra dos vossos avos*”;

Sara: “*numa das reunioes, ...uma senhora minha vizinha, minha amiga negra, lidava comigo todos os dias, ...ela vao e diz – ‘Abaixo os mistos’ .... E eu apercebi-me que, afinal de contas, tambem ha racismo*”.

Looking at these narratives, it is possible to suggest that two contrasting and complementary accounts were drawn on by the participants to sustain their option to



leave the country, and initiate an immigration project. Firstly, a more open criticism regarding FRELIMO's consent to racism and discrimination in relation to them. Secondly, a more subtle explanation related to the longstanding presence of colonial values on their lives. As referred to by one of the participants, the assimilated Mozambican population was not ready to understand the newly ideological and political thinking established by FRELIMO. According to this individual, most of the assimilated population precipitated itself into the revolution, and drastically realised how culturally unprepared they were to participate within a society utterly different from the previous colonial one. This immigrant's narrative leads to Ranger's (1996) observation that "*the colonial period was a time of distortion through power: power used to force Africans into distorting identities*" (1996: 273). Cabral (2002) offered a chronological reading by arguing that "*in fact, social time is seldom linear. The past and present are constantly being re-mixed into conglomerates of experience, where each component becomes largely indissociable from the others. The past and present constantly visit each other in experience*" (2002: 87).

How was Portugal perceived when considered in relation to Cabral's (2002: 87) evidence that "*past and present constantly visit each other in experience*"? If Crites's (1971) premise is accurate regarding the fact that individuals organise their perceptions based upon a "*continuity of experience over time*", then Portugal was believed to represent the lost golden past, a past<sup>74</sup> they could recuperate, and within it they could shield their identities.

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<sup>74</sup> Noa (1999) has argued that "*discutir o passado, nao é para saber o que ai aconteceu nem para saber como ele influencia o presente, mas tambem, o que ele é realmente, se esta concluido, ou continua, sob diferentes formas. Como diria Cicero, nao conhecer o passado é permanecer sempre criança*" (1999: 60).

### 6.3 Narrative Moment of Analysis III: The ‘Rendez-vous’ with the Past – Life in Portugal

The literature on acculturation process (Berry, 1980; Berry *et al.*, 1992; Berry *et al.*, 1996) has repeatedly reminded researchers to make enquiries regarding: a) the cultural identification of the immigrant groups and individuals; b) the reasons that are linked with the process of departure from the homeland ( Berry and Kim, 1987); c) the expectations and convictions these groups and individuals have brought with them to the receiving society (McClelland, 1961; McClelland and Winter, 1969; Hallowell, 1955; Mead 1956a, 1956b; Hagen, 1962; Berry and Dasen, 1974; Guthrie, 1970); d) finally whether or not, is the host society is perceived as a familiar environment.

Taking in account these enquiries, data showed that the sample is composed of those individuals identified during Portuguese colonialism as assimilated – the ‘*assimilados*’ (see Chapter 4). The organisation of the interviews planned in accordance with ‘*narrative moments*’ demonstrated that the historical influence of the colonial system upon their lives and identities had been represented as an obstacle to their adhesion towards FRELIMO’s ideology. Besides the political discontentment associated with an increasing degradation in social domain of the new Mozambican society, the assembled information indicated a significant psychological division between FRELIMO’s agenda to create a society without social and cultural distinctions, and the durable colonial cultural traditions to which these immigrants were seen to be clearly related . Convinced that Portugal represented the unquestionable destination and ‘*the home*’ – [a casa], the ‘*old colony*’ [a velha colonia]; ‘*the metropolis*’ [a metropole], the participants decided to go to



Portugal to recover their privileged past and a safe place for their identities. The immigration project was to go to a familiar environment, most individuals who departed from Mozambique were already embedded within a family network and support system, previously established in Portugal. Furthermore, the use of the same 'language' [lingua (portuguesa)] and cultural background was perceived by the majority as an asset for easy integration:

Luisa: *"Em Portugal, eu senti-me bem, porque senti-me em casa. Talvez, por causa da lingua";*

Ana: *"Simples, simples, eu nasci numa colonia e, entao, vou para a metropole. Sentia-me feliz, ...primeiro porque falavamos todos a mesma lingua, praticamente como se diz 'estamos em casa'";*

Ricardo: *"decidi vir para Portugal ... a minha primeira lingua de sempre".*

However, when asked to explore their first impression of Portugal, or at least, of that Portugal they had heard about, the majority of the participants responded that they felt a profound 'disappointment' [desilusao], a 'shock' [um choque ]; 'deception' [decepção]; a country apparently known, became a place 'unfamiliar' [desconhecido], distant from all the memories they held about the Portuguese metropolis:

Alice: *"Chego a Portugal, primeiro foi uma desilusao porque era um pais desconhecido ..., a gente vivia uma vida diferente, uma vida maravilhosa, chega-se a um pais desconhecido, foi muito dificil adaptar-me em Portugal";*

Paulo: *“Foi um bocado um choque. Fiquei um bocado desiludido quando vi Portugal ..., mas fiquei desiludido com Lisboa: ‘Isto é Lisboa? Puxa, meu rico Lourenço Marques’;*

Agostinho: *“Decepcionado, muito decepcionado com aquilo. Portugal foi uma desilusao em varios aspectos : a impressao que eu tive quando cheguei em 83, eles para ja estavam mais atrasados que nos ”.*

A vigilant reading of the data, suggested that beyond the climate and architectural differences immediately noticed by these immigrants, it was the unpredicted social differences between them and the Portuguese inhabitants, the daily difficulties regarding access to jobs, the racist and discriminatory attitudes (and insults) that had caused them to reconsider their image as being Portuguese, their identification with Portugal, to rethink their modes of acculturation within the allegedly ‘our own’ society, and to psychologically reformulate their identity strategies.

### ***6.3.1 From Assimilation to Separation: Perceptions of Portuguese Society***

In Portugal, Mozambican immigrants were unexpectedly confronted with a strange and diverse reality from that they were used to. This was a reality that culturally and socially did not coincide with the Portugal in which they lived, that Portugal represented and reproduced in Africa. Analysing the interviews from this perspective, the participants’ descriptions of Portuguese society demonstrated the existence of two radically diverse social universes: one identified as belonging to those who had been born and had lived in Africa, the African Portuguese; the other encompassing the Portuguese population that had never left Portugal, and who did not have the wish to interact with African Portuguese individuals.



In addition, as related by these immigrants, in Portugal they felt that they were not considered to be Portuguese, but rather to be black, Africans, people that the 'Real Portugal' did not acknowledged as possessing a historical and cultural sameness, the essential discourse of the colonial 'African Portuguese'. Regarding this scenario, most of the respondents concluded that Portuguese were 'racists' [racistas/preconceituosos]; 'envious' [invejosos]; with a 'narrow mentality' [mentalidade fechada]; 'culturally underdeveloped' [culturalmente atrasados]; 'immature' [imatueros/miudos].

Surprisingly, these immigrants confessed that it was the sameness in terms of language, culture, social organisation that allowed them to realise that the pejorative and discriminatory discourse and practices the colonial system imposed upon the native people, in reality did not represent the attributes of 'African' [africano/africanos] individuals, but rather the intrinsic characteristics of the white Portuguese people. Moreover, it is possible to see a change in their perception of their identities from the previous 'us, Portuguese' [nos, portugueses] to 'them, the Portuguese' [eles, os portugueses] *versus* 'us, the Africans' [nos, os africanos]:

Agostinho: *"em termos de mentalidade, eu acho que eles continuam mais atrasados que o africano ...os jovens em Moçambique, em termos de mentalidade, sao mais avançados que os portugueses ... ; os portugueses sao uns miudos, imatueros, completamente preconceituosos";*

Andre: *"vi que socialmente havia racismo, havia discriminação .... Mas, aos poucos ...eu que julgava que eu estava desfavorecido ...vou encontrar um povo que esta muito menos evoluído";*

Daniela: *“havia aquelas pessoas que estavam muito revoltadas pelo facto de nos estarmos, porque diziam que estávamos a invadir o país,... outros vinham com racismo ... sentia que o povo português era um bocadinho, era aquelas regras estipuladas, eram aqueles caminhos que tinhas que seguir ...uma mentalidade que mesmo sabendo que essa mentalidade era muito similar e foi implantada por portugueses, eu sempre senti que aquilo não era lugar para mim”;*

Julio: *“racismo ou discriminação, porque não nos davam oportunidades de fazer qualquer coisa”;*

The aforementioned participants' perceptions argued that the daily difficulties they faced in terms of job access, frequent racist and discriminatory attitudes, did not indicate a marginalisation mode of acculturation, but a tense transit between a *cultural assimilation* - based upon the likeness of language, culture, educational background -, and an *integrative or separatist identity strategy*, related to a psychological process of non-identification with the Portuguese norms, mentality and traditions. This evidence recalls Johnston' (1963) conceptual distinction between two aspects of acculturation. The behavioural part he named external assimilation, and the attitudinal one he identified as the internal assimilation. Linking the theory (Johnston, 1963) with the data, it is feasible to argue that these immigrants adopted the behaviour expected by the host society, including speaking Portuguese and conforming to social and cultural structures. In spite of this conformative behaviour which had arisen from societal expectations, the immigrants demonstrated within their narratives, that they did not identify psychologically with the Portuguese mental attitudes (see, Liu, 2000). Furthermore, the data also indicated that modes of acculturation are subjected to a dynamic transit due to a dialectical interaction between individuals and social structures (cf. Berry, 1980), and are likely to be



articulated into combined acculturation strategies (e.g., Khan and Vala, 1999; Portes and Zhou, 1993; Gibson, 1989).

#### 6.3.1.1 *The Re-Awakening of an African Identity*

The perceptions of cultural differences between these immigrants and the Portuguese society, have led them to reject any sort of similarity with the prevailing mentality, and particularly, to retrieve from past memories, their African culture and background. Ironically, the understanding that being Portuguese in Africa was utterly different from the experience they sensed in Portugal impelled the participants to raise an identity enquiry, to question what was their own cultural origin, and to establish their own identity boundaries. Within this scenario, they started to identify themselves with the lost African homeland, to weave their conception of Africans, and to search for their '*Black Blood*' (Noemia de Sousa's poem), somehow crying the words of the poet:

*"My Africa, strange and wild*  
...  
*How long have I walked*  
*exiled from you, a stranger distant and self absorbed*  
...  
*Mother! Forgive me!*  
...  
*For the strongest of all in me*  
*it floods my soul, my veins*  
..." (quoted in Mondlane, 1983: 53.4).

The immigrants' reactions to racism and discrimination worked to create a positive sense of their identity as Mozambicans, and as Africans. Expression used in the interviews such as '*I am Mozambican*' [sou moçambicana/o]; 'I am African' [sou

africano] are employed with a different meaning, in contrast with that used during colonial times. An articulation with the data and Tajfel's (1978) Social Identity Theory and related identity typology, cast light on the fact that these individuals concentrated on socially re-creating a positive sense of their own identity, by reversing the negative (and paternalistic) connotations associated with their status during Portuguese colonialism.

Exploring this identity trajectory, the terms 'black', 'assimilated', 'African' are now embedded within narratives in which these expressions are not pejorative anymore, but rather they outline the malicious behaviour of the colonialist of despising, and intentionally overriding the good attributes of Africa men and women. Particularly, the assimilated are not individuals who were deliberately duped by the colonial system, on the contrary, these men and women had received better education and skills, comparatively, than those in the Portuguese society. For instance, 'black' and 'African' are no more 'culturally underdeveloped', 'immature', and in need of paternalistic guidance, but rather it is the native white Portuguese society that needs greater supervision and paternalistic support.

Once again, moving from interpretative repertoires to different ones goes demonstrates the theory that identities are discursively and narratively constructed, through a dynamic and dialectical relation with social structures. Therefore, if they are Africans, what kind of Africa are they approaching throughout their narratives? What sort of African and Mozambican identities do they refer to? The answers to these questions will be explored in Chapter 7. From this moment, they have chosen to be African Mozambican immigrants in Portugal.



#### 6.4 Narrative Moment of Analysis IV: England and a New Life

For the majority of the participants, their decision to embark on a new immigration project was directly related to the difficulties they faced regarding job opportunities, and the enlargement of their educational horizons. Once again, this project of immigration was not individually planned, but regarded as a family commitment. The data made reference to the fact that it was the young people who determined the departure from Portugal, justified by experiences of cultural racism, professional discrimination, and uncertainty about their future.

When asked the questions '*what are your perceptions of English society?*', and '*how do you feel living in England?*', there was no reported hesitancy and no doubt that they believed England would allow them to accomplish their goals, and would give them and their families a better future. Stemming from their accounts, four central narratives were used to illustrate their perceptions they of the new host society, and their expectations regarding the new life. They are:

- a) '*English people are cold and distant, [but] their racism is not so salient and visible*';
- b) '*English society is a multicultural society*';
- c) '*the opportunity of increasing cultural and educational horizons*;
- d) '*more job opportunities*'.

Some of the contributors observed that, in England they were confronted with a labour reality never seen before in Portugal. The job opportunities they found here, mainly in London, were substantially better and the work was regular:

Mafalda: *“Eu quando cheguei eu fiquei parva, em cada esquina era so papeis a pedir empregados, seja do que for, havia trabalho ate nao poder mais, em comparacao com Portugal”;*

Daniela: *“Muito mais, sem comparacao. Eu tive mesmo que sair, porque em Portugal, pura e simplesmente, nao existe oportunidades .... E sei que se tivesse em Portugal, nunca, mas nunca, poderia fazer este trabalho, nem ganhar o quanto ganho”.*

The feeling of frustration and thirst for knowledge repeatedly emerged from the respondents' accounts. Using Portugal as a comparison, they expressed that, in Portugal, they felt emotionally concerned and tormented with the scarcity of available resources, the cultural isolation, the tragedy of dwelling in a country that was unprepared to provide them with a better future. For example, one of the participants cited the physical, psychological and financial hurdles he had to frequently to overcome to further his education in Portugal, whereas he never experienced similar problems in England:

Ricardo: *“Em Portugal, passei as dificuldades diferentes daquelas que passei aqui, e fisicamente e psicologicamente foi muito mais facil de ultrapassar”.*

Other participants, assumed that in spite of the problems of adaptation, in the primary years, related to a new language, culture and environment, they were capable of working and, at the same time, of following their desire to study:

Helena: *“sinto-me bem, gosto de ca estar. Nos primeiros anos nao foi facil, foi dificil estar fora da familia, nao tinha amigos .... ...sentia que queria acabar os meus*



*estudos e acabar a universidade. Continuei a estudar, sempre consegui arranjar empregos ...continuei a estudar, fiz a universidade a noite – business studies -... ”;*

*Paulo: “decidi fazer enfermagem, e ja estou no segundo ano. Aqui, ha muitas mais oportunidades, em Portugal nunca poderia fazer o curso de enfermagem ...aqui ha mais oportunidades”.*

It was more difficult for the older participants to benefit from the educational opportunities, and the interviews pointed to the existence of a generational gap on the subject of linguistic integration. In this respect, the oldest immigrants alleged that to learn a strange language represented a huge effort from them, and was an obstacle to entering into the new social environment. Extending this debate, three immigrants revealed that they were already retired, therefore they limited their socially linguistic interaction with the surrounding society (Laroche *et al.*, 1997). One other aspect addressed by them revealed the strong support they had from their family and the closeness built up around them:

*Joana: “Agora, estou mais ambientada, mas isto aqui ... pronto, eu faço a minha vida, eu lido muito com essa malta que veio de Moçambique e de Angola, passo bem”;*

*Sofia: “Eu sinto-me bem. Desde que esteja perto dos meus filhos”.*

One of the major contributions to these immigrants' integration course within English society, related to their perceptions of the host society. According to their descriptions, English society was multiculturally structured, and culturally open to other cultures (see, Berry and Kalin, 1995). As referred to by the respondents, English society is a place where people are respected, and within which there is no

sort of professional discrimination based upon racial prejudices. Arising from this, one of the immigrants noted that in England there was a kind of social respect in relation to those who are not English, a friendly treatment towards those immigrants living there, by giving them all types of support and an easy road to integration. Ultimately, a scenario where people are protected by law:

Sandra: *“a nivel profissional e cultural eles respeitam muito a cultura dos outros povos. Tu ves, tu chegas a um departamento publico e ves muitas raças misturadas. A nivel profissional, eu sempre achei que eles tinham um processo de selecção muito justo ..., tambem o processo judicial, a lei aqui funciona”*.

Daniel: *“es tratada de igual para igual, nao ha aquela diferença que ha em Portugal. Eu acho que isso ja faz sentir-nos bem, fazer parte da sociedade”*.

When invited to respond to the questions: ‘*do they interact with English population?*’, and ‘*how do they perceived this population?*’, they offered descriptions in the following terms: English people are ‘*distant*’ [distantes]; ‘*cold*’ [frios]; they ‘*discriminate*’ [discriminam]; but with a more polite, non salient and diplomatic racism, in contrast with Portuguese racism; although they are distant, they are a ‘*cordial*’ [cordial] and ‘*fair*’ [justo] people:

Agostinho: *“ eles discriminar, discriminam sempre..., claro que sao muito mais diplomatas que o portugues, afastam as pessoas com diplomacia, com cinismo ...realmente essa frieza do ingles, bastante frio”*;

Sandra: *“apesar do ingles ser um povo distante, é um povo muito cordial, e muito justo”*.



One respondent came forward with an explanation regarding the type of racism they he had experienced in Portugal, in contrast with that in England. From his point of view, this participant was convinced that the racism in Portugal was historically interconnected with the colonial past, and the conception the colonialist men had about the African population (see, Alexandre, 2000). Whereas in England they were not associated with the story of the country, in terms of its empire past and memories.

The assembled data have shown that the integration trajectory was perceived as the most suitable acculturative strategy, based upon participants' representations of English society as an open and multicultural environment; wherein people from other countries and cultures are socially, culturally respected; where the social organisation provides immigrants with better job opportunities, and finally, where racism is perceived as harmless.

The data also revealed a significant distinction on the topic of linguistic integration between the youngest and the oldest generations. This evidence suggested that young individuals are publicly more exposed than the oldest ones, firstly, because of labour and educational obligations, and related individual achievements, and secondly, because these young people support the family, whose aim is to become integrated in the new society. Literature on acculturation, has introduced the term 'psychological acculturation', a term used in contrast with 'group-level acculturation'. Regarding this distinction, Liu has argued that "*some individuals may be completely assimilated in the host culture and lose their original cultural identity, while other individuals may integrate the host culture into their original culture.*"

*Therefore this acculturation process is highly individualised and is influenced by an individual's psychological traits as well as environmental and other external factors"* (Liu, 2000: 6).

With Liu's words in mind, it is possible to identify the presence of two acculturative courses: one related to the group-level, where the family assumes a central role; and another referring to each individual's goals and expectations, in terms of jobs, and education. Both trajectories should not be described as contradictory, on the contrary, they are mutually sustaining as an individual's achievements is perceived to give the family better living conditions.

Furthermore, because an integrative acculturative practice is adopted by these immigrants in England, the data have not identified any activity in terms of an identity strategy (Tajfel, 1978). This absence of information, is connected with the participants' perceptions of the social environment as inoffensive, and protective of immigrant individuals' rights.

## **6.5 Narrative Moment of Analysis V: Conclusions**

Throughout the examination of these immigrants' acculturative trajectories and identity strategies, three main conclusions are offered. First, the ways individuals perceived their modes of acculturation and identity strategies are inextricably related to a previous relation between both the immigrant group's homeland and the host society. Second, individuals do construct identities, by resorting to discursive devices and a narrative form to legitimate their views of the world, and to justify the active process of identity revision and positioning. Ultimately, the interaction



between immigrant groups and individuals' features and the social structures of the receiving society, is likely to prompt the emergence of parallel levels of acculturation, either external (refers to the group's and individual's responses to the host environment), or internal (related to the group's or individual's cultural idiosyncrasy), and to determine the manifestation of combined/articulated acculturative modes (*e.g.* Khan and Vala, 1999), and identity strategies (Tajfel, 1978).

Two enquiries remain unexplored. Bearing in mind the participants' identifications as Africans: what kind of Africa are they approaching throughout their narratives? And, what sort of African and Mozambican identities are being referred to by them? Next, in Chapter 7, a reflection on these immigrants' narratives of their identities and ethnicity will be given. Additional information regarding their desire for cultural representation will be analysed, by bringing together information gathered during fieldwork II (individual interviews and interviews to Mozambican political and cultural leaders), aimed at establishing a clarifying link between the African Mozambican immigrants' universe, in terms of identity/ culture/ and ethnicity.

## 7 Narratives of Identity and Ethnicity - The Social Construction of a Mozambican Identity

*“O segredo da Busca é que não se acha  
Eternos mundos infinitamente,  
Uns dentro de outros, sem cessar decorrem  
Inúteis; Sóis, Deuses, Deuses dos Deuses  
Neles intercalados e perdidos  
Nem a nós encontramos no infinito.  
Tudo é sempre diverso, sempre adiante  
....”*

Fernando Pessoa

This chapter represents the last piece of the journey related to African Mozambican immigrants' narratives of identity and acculturative experiences. Aiming to intertwine the present analysis with the preceding chapters, attention will be thrown on the participants' perceptions of their identities according to their cultural voyage through different host societies. In addition, an examination of their representations of Mozambican culture, and the existing rapport between immigrants and Mozambican associations will be offered. Finally, a debate regarding the role ethnicity is said to represent on these immigrants' lives will be addressed, in order to validate a new conceptual form of ethnicity, identified as '*domestic ethnicity*'. Particularly, this term will be articulated with the theoretical and methodological premises that individuals' and groups' response to social structures is socially constructed (see, Fenton, 1999), and motivated by the basic assumption that



individuals continually seek for a positive sense of their identity, by attaching it to a certain psychological distinctiveness (Tajfel, 1978) .

With these aims in mind, the data will be organised through the following narrative moments:

- a) *narrative moment of analysis I* will look at Mozambican immigrants' self identity narratives. The assembled data have indicated the presence of five central identity narratives: '*I am Mozambican*'; '*it is difficult to define who I am, but I think I am African*'; '*I know that my homeland is Mozambique, but I do not know anymore who I am*'; '*I am European, although I was born in Mozambique, and I have a Portuguese nationality*'; finally, '*I am Mozambican and Portuguese*'. Furthermore, an examination of immigrants' views of having Portuguese nationality will be included, as well as their accounts of their return to Mozambique;
- b) *narrative moment of analysis II* will tackle the participants' representations of the feasibility of referring to a Mozambican culture and community. Taking into account these issues of community and cultural representation, political and cultural leaders' views will be discussed with the participants' perceptions, in order to achieve an understanding of these immigrants' features in the acculturative arena, and to substantiate the emergence of '*domestic ethnicity*';
- c) *narrative moment of analysis III* will focus on outlining the reasons respondents accounted for the selection of '*domestic ethnicity*'. In addition,

how this particular nature of ethnicity mirrors the research assumptions that Mozambican immigrants are neither an ethnic group, nor that the notions of ethnicity and ethnic group/identity should be considered as overlapping realities (see Chapter 2);

- d) *narrative moment of analysis IV* will offer a conclusive overview by associating the assembled data with the research hypotheses, and research expectations (see Chapter 2).

### **7.1 Narrative Moment of Analysis I: African Mozambicans' Identity Perceptions**

During the previous chapter, the data gave evidence of a significant relationship between acculturation modes and identity strategies. Moreover, the participants' accounts also showed a dynamic identity transit from 'us, Portuguese' to a new identifications as 'us, Mozambicans', or 'us, Africans'. As suggested by Ellis and Bochner (2000) "*stories show us that meanings and significance of the past are incomplete, tentative, and revisable according to the contingencies of our present life circumstances, the present from which we narrate*" (2000: 745). With this assumption in mind, respondents were invited to define the perceptions they held about their identity regarding their "*present*" life circumstances: '*how would you define yourself?*', and '*who are you, bearing in mind your cultural trajectories as an immigrant?*'. From this analysis, the reading of the data have identified five main identity narratives: '*I am Mozambican*'; '*it is difficult to define who I am, but I think I am African*'; '*I know that my homeland is Mozambique, but I do not know anymore*



*who I am*’; *‘I am European, although I was born in Mozambique, and I have Portuguese nationality*’; ultimately *‘I am Mozambican and Portuguese*’.

### 7.1.1 *‘I am Mozambican’*

Within the self identification narrative of *‘I am Mozambican’*, data showed the presence of two contrasting identity processes. The first process articulates the construction of a Mozambican identity by associating it with the personality features of the native population. For instance, it was confidently believed with that to be Mozambican the individual had to confirm with a particular manner of thinking, acting and behaving. Expressions such as *‘our’* [nossa]; *‘peaceful’* [pacífico; passivo]; *‘calm’* [calmo]; *‘well educated’* [bem-educado]; *‘quiet’* [sossegado]; *‘tranquil’* [tranquilo]; *‘Mozambican’* [moçambicano/a]; *‘the people’* [o povo] spontaneously emerged from some participants’ self identification with a Mozambican ontological description. However, this process also demonstrated that they made social comparisons between Mozambicans’ characteristics and *‘Angolans’* [angolanos] and *‘Portuguese’s’* [portugueses]; *‘CapoVerdeans’* [caboverdeanos] cultural traits, in order to maintain their positive sense of social identity and psychological distinctiveness:

Agostinho: *“nos temos uma forma de ser muito nossa, o moçambicano neste país [England] nos somos muito bem vistos pelos ingleses, eles dizem que nos somos ‘people very easy to deal’; nos somos pacíficos, gente muito bem educada, gente muito calma, tranquila, não gostamos de problemas, essa é a forma de estar do moçambicano. Essa é a minha forma de ser, e eu vou continuar a ser sempre ... não vou mudar... eu lido com angolanos, e eu não tenho nada a ver com eles, eu tenho a minha forma de ser”*;

Ana: *“sinto-me moçambicana. O moçambicano, nota-se a distancia que este é moçambicano, este é caboverdiano, e aquele angolano. Para mim, nao quero ofender os outros povos africanos, eu acho que o povo moçambicano é um povo muito passivo, muito calmo, nao é de muitas grandezas, nao é por ser moçambicana”.*

Paulo: *“nao me sinto portugues, ... eu considero-me sempre moçambicano, ...porque acho que a minha mentalidade é diferente da dos portugueses ..., embora a minha familia seja de CaboVerde, ...nao me sinto caboverdiano, nao me sinto, pronto”.*

The analysis of these ‘*stories*’ suggested that the definition of a Mozambican identity is constructed by resorting to a chain of comparisons with other cultural groups, in order to keep a positive sense of social identity, and reinforce the psychological differentiation when addressing the narrative of ‘being Mozambican’. As reminded by Tajfel (1978), individuals as well as groups are repeatedly willing to draw upon social comparisons with other groups to achieve the vital human need of a positive social identity. Recently, Bastos and Bastos (2002) have verified, according to their research sample constituted by Portuguese Indians, that groups consciously devote efforts to validate their identity narratives, and to keep alive their desire for a positive social identity, though this quest implies the use of available discursive tools to emphasise the groups’ cultural traits to the detriment of other groups.

The second process considers that a spiritual and temporal faith is important in relation to a Mozambican identity. Particular terms such as ‘born’ [nascer]; ‘die’ [morrer]; ‘heart’ [coração]; ‘body’ [corpo]; and ‘soul’ [alma] are used to discursively emphasised the participants’ identification with their homeland:



Joana: “*Desde que nasci ate eu morrer sou moçambicana*”;

Sofia: “*Eu fui-me embora, mas considero-me moçambicana de coração, de corpo e alma*”.

### 7.1.2 ‘It is difficult to define who I am, but I think I am African’

Amongst the twenty participants, only one identified himself as being African. In an attempt to explore his mixed identity, the respondent relied on the use of the following words: ‘mulatto’ [mulato/a]; ‘Indian’ [indiano/a]; ‘*monhe*’ (a pejorative term commonly employed within the colonial vocabulary, means Indian) [monhé]; ‘black’ [negro]; ‘African’ [africano/a]; ‘Portuguese’ [portugues/a]; ‘English’ [ingles/a]; ‘Mozambican’ [moçambicano/a]; finally ‘Angolans’ [angolanos].

During the interview, the participant recounted that during the colonial system he and his family were usually perceived as ‘monhés’, and because of this cultural stereotype, throughout his life he has convinced himself that he could not but identify with that label, because society saw him as ‘Indian/monhé’. Nonetheless, when independence arrived (1975), his family left Mozambique to go to India. To his surprise, in India he was not acknowledged by others as ‘Indian’. However, the experience of changing countries, and experiencing a different cultural environments has led him to create a multiple self identifications, such as: ‘Portuguese’ [portugues], ‘English’ [ingles]. Furthermore, the respondent also pointed to the fact that his identification as ‘African’ is a way of explaining the numerous cultural influences that affected his life:

Ricardo: *“tenho um bocadinho da parte mulata, mas da parte de indiano, ...tanto para o portugues, para o branco, eu era monhé, cresci com a idea de que eu era indiano, porque era visto assim. Anos depois, acabei por descobrir que sofria a mesma situaçao com indianos, porque para os indianos eu nao sou indiano, porque para os indianos eu era negro. Anos depois, acabei por descobrir e correctamente, que nao sou afinal de contas indiano ... sou mais africano que indiano. ... os meus professores de ingles, eles marcaram-me bastante. Socialmente e intelectualmente, tambem. ...portugues – a minha primeira lingua de sempre. ...trago boas e mas coisas de tudo, de portugues, de africano. E tenho que dizer africano e nao moçambicano, porque me envolvi tambem em ambientes angolanos... por isso, nao conseguia definir, talvez, africano, ingles, indiano”*.

### ***7.1.3 ‘I know that my homeland is Mozambique, but I do not know anymore who I am’***

As documented during chapter 4, Mozambique witnessed vast historical convulsions, social, cultural, economic and political. As a newly independent country, Mozambique was troubled by social and racial cleavages throughout the period of FRELIMO’s revolutionary program of a new society. The Mozambican population were not immune to all the contradictions and disturbances that were established and imposed upon their lives and identities (see Rocha, 1996). For these reasons, some of the immigrants confessed to having long ago lost all the possibility of tracing their identity; of identifying of who they really are. Although, conscious of this conviction they preferred to refer to themselves as Mozambicans rather than Portuguese.

A strong feeling of cultural misrepresentation by the colonial system, the devastating social policy established by FRELIMO, and the psychological shock sensed in Portugal have led them to confront with a reality wherein they were neither



Mozambicans, nor Portuguese. In this respect, Rocha (1996) has outlined that a colonial assimilation policy was indeed effective in producing human beings profoundly divided and deprived of cultural background through which they could only make a guess at their own identity. However, from the data it can be seen that the participants chose to describe themselves as Mozambicans, by associating their identification with a past privileged life. For example, one of the respondents described that the fact that her family left Mozambique wounded them psychologically, by preserving within them an enduring cultural emptiness. Even when the respondent's family had reached a certain stability and tranquillity, they still sensed the feeling of being individuals without roots. During her narrative, this immigrant revealed that neither in Portugal nor in England she was ever able to come to terms with her profound cultural blankness. In addition, she outlined the image she kept of her mother crying during her family departure from the homeland.

In regard to this issue of memory, Paez *et al.* (1997, see also Halbwachs, 1968) have argued that memory is social *"first of all, because of its content: People always remember the world in which other people also live. Memory of the past is always that of an intersubjective past, of a past time lived in relations with other people"* (1997: 152). Halbwachs (1968) addressed the study of human memory by stating that when an individual travels back to his/her past, he/she perceived it and life as a retrospective reality, mostly fraught with memories both individual and collective. Hence, it is more than a description of an individual's experience; his/her account represents narratives of individual memories, as well of those memories in relation to others. Thus, narrative is a form of telling something according to a chronological,

and contextual order, where social, cultural and historical structures are taking in consideration as the *corpus* in which events have occurred.

A racialised narrative has also emerged from the participants' stories. One of them has related his discomfoting feelings regarding his colonial status as '*mulatto*'. During his account he confessed that from time to time he perceived within himself racist and discriminatory attitudes, which had been imbued by the colonial white man on him, and which he in turn used towards those he recognised as 'blacks': '*I felt confused about my origins*' [senti-me confuso em relação as minhas origens]; '*they are white, I am a mulatto, and I am not black*' [eles são brancos, eu sou mulato, eu não sou negro]:

Andre: "*senti-me, senti-me um pouco, talvez confuso em relação as minhas origens ...contava aquilo que nos chamamos de piadas, rebaixamento aos governantes, e ao proprio africano, porque eu ainda estava confuso de dizer assim : 'eles são brancos, eu sou mulato, eu não sou preto ..., a minha vida teve uma mudança, comecei a ter sempre isto 'eu convivo com pessoas, independentemente, da pessoa, ser branca, indiana, seja de que origem for'*".

Their identification as Mozambicans was presented through the following discursive repertoires: '*I feel I am drifting*' [sinto-me à deriva]; '*traumatising*' [traumatisante]; '*I was yanked from my origins*' [arrancada das minhas origens]; '*I feel Mozambican, but I am feeling lost*' [sinto-me moçambicana, mas já me sinto perdida]; '*when I am going to Mozambique, I feel completely lost*' [quando vou a Moçambique, eu sinto-me completamente perdida]; '*In Portugal I felt at home, but now I do not know anymore where I belong, whether to Portugal, Mozambique or here (England)*' [em Portugal sentia-me em casa, mas agora não sei se pertenço a



Portugal, Moçambique, ou se pertenço aqui (Inglaterra)]; *'we feel well when we are surrounded by our family, or by people that like us'* [estamos bem quando estamos rodeados pela família, das pessoas que gostam de nós]; *'I like Mozambique, I like my homeland'* [gosto de Moçambique, gosto da minha terra]:

Sandra: *"no fundo, sempre em Portugal como aqui [England], eu sempre me senti à deriva, ...sempre me identifiquei com Moçambique. ..., saímos de Moçambique as três pancadas, foi traumatisante, eu senti que fui arrancada das minhas origens e, então, foi um trauma para mim"*;

Clara: *"eu sinto-me moçambicana, um bocado, mas já me sinto perdida, quando as vezes vou a Moçambique. Se eu não tenho os meus primos que vivem lá, e que me ajudam, eu ando perdida, completamente, completamente"*;

Daniel: *"em Portugal sentia-me em casa, mas até eu vir para cá [England]. Depois, só fui a Portugal passado um ou dois anos, então, foi uma sensação estranha ..., ao fim e ao cabo já não sabia bem quem o que era ... eu acho que estamos bem quando estamos rodeados pela nossa família, das pessoas que gostam de nós, porque sinceramente não sei se pertenço a Portugal, se pertenço a Moçambique, ou se pertenço aqui [England]. Aqui [England], definitivamente não pertenço, gosto muito de Moçambique, gosto muito da minha terra ..., sinceramente, não sei, não sei onde é que pertenço"*.

#### **7.1.4 'I am European, although I was born in Mozambique, and I have Portuguese nationality'**

Similar to other participants' accounts of traumatised departures from Mozambique, one other immigrant declared that she felt a strong resentment regarding the negative impact of FRELIMO's policies on her family life. This immigrant referred to her identity as *'European'* [europeia], because she never identified herself with the

Portuguese mentality, though she has a 'Portuguese passport' [passaport portugues]. She also refused to be 'Mozambican' [moçambicana] because she was emotionally 'hurt' [magoada] when living in Mozambique, under FRELIMO's government. This participant stated that 'to be happy a person does not need to be in his/her country. If in that country a person find those things this person fights for and wishes, so you belong to that place' [para uma pessoa ser feliz nao tem de estar no seu pais. Se naquele pais, encontrar aquelas coisas pelas quais tu lutas e desejas, és dali]. Taking in account her several acculturative experiences – Mozambique, Portugal, USA, and England – she asserted that notwithstanding she 'was born in Mozambique' [nasci em Moçambique] and 'has a Portuguese passport' [tem passaporte portugues], she preferred to portray herself as 'European' [europeia]:

Daniela: “*eu considero-me europeia, nao me considero moçambicana, nao me considero portuguesa. Porque, sai do meu pais ainda tao novinha, e muito magoada pela maneira como sai do pais. ...considero que uma pessoa para ser feliz nao tem de estar no seu pais, tem de se sentir bem onde estiver. Se naquele pais consegue encontrar minimamente aquelas coisas pelas quais tu lutas e desejas, se és feliz, és dali. ...sim, tenho passaporte portugues, sim nasci em Moçambique, mas nao me considero nem uma coisa nem outra*”.

#### 7.1.5 'I am Mozambican and Portuguese'

The data have shown that only two respondents have considered themselves as Portuguese and as Mozambicans. For example, one of the immigrants connected her Portuguese identity with the fact that she was born under the 'Portuguese flag' [bandeira Portuguese]. In spite of self identity narrative, this respondent showed some concern to emphasise that her 'homeland' [casa] and 'root' [raiz] was



Mozambique, though several times she felt confused in relation to the place where she really belongs to:

Alice: *“sinto-me portuguesa ...desde que eu nasci. ...sempre nasci na bandeira portuguesa. Eu sinto-me portuguesa, porque sempre vivi com os portugueses, embora como eu digo, iah! A minha casa é Moçambique, porque eu nasci lá, ... gosto da nossa música mexida, isso é que é a nossa raiz, como se diz. ...mas eu sempre vivi com os portugueses”*.

One other participant rapidly answered that she could perceived herself either as Portuguese or as Mozambican. But, later during the interview, she insisted that her ‘root’ [raiz] was Mozambique, by associating her life with the Mozambican ‘gastronomy’ [gastronomia/alimentação] and ‘manner of being’ [maneira de estar], regardless of her connection with Portuguese culture:

Lidia: *“eu sinto moçambicana - portuguesa, eu sinto-me moçambicana e portuguesa. Pronto, sei quais são as minhas raízes, ..., não estou nada desligada na alimentação, e na maneira de estar, sou moçambicana”*.

This repetitive use of certain expressions (‘Mozambican’; ‘Portuguese’), and the intentional resort to other terms (‘homeland’, ‘root’) within these narratives matches with Rappaport’s (1993) observation that “the stories that people tell and are told are powerful forms of communication to both others and one’s self” (1993: 24), through which individuals are capable of providing their identities and experiences with “a sense of history and of future” (1993: 24).

By bringing together the exposed identity narratives, the data indicated that the majority of the participants frequently referred to their Portuguese nationality/passport as an instrumental attitude associated with the development of their goals and expectations in the European context. In this respect, Jose Miguel, a representative of the Mozambican Embassy Cultural Department, has argued that “*it is my belief that [the Portuguese] nationality is only a springboard to solve concrete problems*” (my translation) (interview, Lisbon, April 2000).

In line with Jose Miguel’s view, Dr. Pedro Comissario, the Mozambican Ambassador in Portugal, saw this issue as follows: “as far as I am concerned, this is merely an instrumental option, due to a linguistic and historical bind, and to an underlying lusofonia<sup>75</sup>, that for me represents a cultural dimension, a mere means of communication, but not a dimension culturally inherent to the Mozambicans” (my translation) (interview, Lisbon, April 2000).

For instance, one of the respondent, who has flatly refused to identified himself as Portuguese, mentioned that in Portugal he tried to get Portuguese nationality because it would allow him and his family to have access to the same ‘rights’ [direitos] and ‘privileges’ [regalias] as other Portuguese citizens own. One other immigrant confessed that Portuguese nationality was intimately connected with a matter of ‘survival in Europe’ [sobreviver na Europa]. Finally, one of the immigrants who referred to her identity as being Portuguese and Mozambican (Alice) clarified that

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<sup>75</sup> The term lusofonia can represent contrasting ideas. One view relates this term to the linguistic bond felt by people who formerly lived in African Portuguese colonies. Whereas, another view associates the emergence of this notion with a colonial nostalgia, that portrays a Portuguese desire to perpetuate the empire (see Noa, 2002: 50; Margarido, 2000).



although she felt the Mozambique was her ‘homeland’ she would rather keep her Portuguese nationality due to the assets related to it:

Paulo: *“onde tu estas inserido, tu debes tentar adquirir aquela nacionalidade, tens mais direitos, tens os direitos que todo o portugues tem - ...portanto, é uma questao de teres mais regalias, mais direitos” ;*

Julio: *“hoje em dia, sou portugues por força das circunstancias, para sobreviver na Europa” ;*

Alice: *“escolhia ser portuguesa ... ser so moçambicana é muito dificil, quer dizer, podia, so que é dificil. Mas, nunca escolheria a nacionalidade moçambicana”.*

When discussing their identity options as ‘Mozambicans’, ‘African’, or ‘Mozambican/Portuguese’, the immigrants were confronted with this specific enquiry: ‘do you wish to return to your country of origin?’. From this level of analysis, four central accounts/narratives have emerged: a) there were those participants willing to return to Mozambique with the aim aimed of helping the people still living there; b) others categorically put aside the possibility of going back to their homeland, by justifying their position through the terrible conditions of poverty, political corruption, social discrimination, and racism prevailing in Mozambique; c) one other group of immigrants who perceived that return was a means to recuperate the past, and whose image of the homeland is still intertwined with a certain nostalgia related to their relatively privileged life; ultimately, d) a group composed of those respondents who confessed to having already fostered a European life style, therefore who could not imagine themselves living in Mozambique, again.

The first narrative of the return embraced those individuals whose desire was to return to Mozambique. However, contradictory feelings co-existed within their accounts. On the one hand, they demonstrated great intentions to take home ‘help’ [ajudas, ajudar], ‘salvation’ [salvação], ‘big plans’ [grandes planos], and ‘big aspirations’ [grandes aspirações] to ‘rescue’ [salvar] ‘our people’ [o nosso povo] from the massive ‘misery’ [miseria], ‘famine’ [fome], and the current corruption tolerated by the government. On the other hand, they unveiled the vast ‘financial limitations’ that actually prevented them from materialising their goals, and accomplishing the project of returning to their country of origin:

Julio: “*Moçambique precisa, neste momento, ... de um plano de salvação. Primeiro, para acabar com a situação de miseria e de fome que o nosso povo passa. ...mas para isso tem de haver um governo, que seja um governo de coligação nacional, ... para poder salvar Moçambique. ...é preciso um grande plano, grandes ajudas, grandes aspirações*”;

Mafalda: “*eu sinceramente, se eu voltasse para Moçambique, eu tinha de ter dinheiro, se tiver dinheiro, é para ir ajudar e fazer alguma coisa*”;

Joana: “*queria ser poderosa, ter muito dinheiro, para poder ajudar aquela gente tao necessitada, mas sou pobre e nao posso. Porque, nao dou nenhuma ajuda, senao for eu a da-la. Os governantes – aqueles caes – poem o dinheiro no bolso*”.

A second group of accounts emphasised the problems expressed by some of the immigrants on the issue of ‘famine’ [fome], ‘misery’ [miseria], nagging ‘differences between social classes’ [diferenças entre classes sociais] and amongst ‘blacks’ [pretos] and ‘mulattoes’ [mulatos], and a considerably political disregard for



‘freedom of speech’ [liberdade de expressao], by comparing the present situation with the ‘colonial time’ [tempo colonial]:

Helena: *“eles falam do tempo colonial que existia diferenças entre classes sociais. Hoje, ves uma grande diferença social em Moçambique, e um preto nao ajuda o outro preto, ou um mulato, nao ajuda o outro mulato. No tempo colonial, cada um tinha pouca coisa, mas tinha, nao è a miseria que se ve hoje. Eles dizem que ha liberdade, mas é uma liberdade muito camuflada, nao ha essa liberdade de expressao; a questao da saude é um risco...”*;

Sofia: *“sinto muito bobretudo pelas crianças, enquanto ha muita mesa farta, ve-se crianças que passam fome”*.

The data on the third group of narratives of the return, showed that for some of the respondents a travelling back to the homeland corresponded with the memories that they still held; a nostalgic sentiment; an imagery of Mozambique constructed upon the ‘golden’ past in which they lived. Cabaço (2002)<sup>76</sup> emphasised that it is necessary to take into consideration that the bonds that keep Mozambican immigrants linked with their homeland do not linearly translate any sort of empathy and direct identification with the social, cultural and political reality existing in Mozambique. On the contrary, they identify with the type of life the colonial system provided, the local landscape, the local gastronomy, the tastes, the music of former times. Eugenio Lisboa (1989), a Portuguese as well a Mozambican writer, accurately portrayed this emotional dilemma, and that sort of life as an ontological limbo:

*“Mozambique, the lost paradise, the matrix, the magic kingdom ..., the trees,*

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<sup>76</sup> Informal conversation with Jose Luis Cabaço, a Mozambican sociologist, at the VII Luso-Afro-Brazilian Congress, held in Rio de Janeiro, 2002.

*the sea, the people, the sun .... I thought of it, I was within it but I was not, painful nightmare, I dreamed of the return knowing that I will never return. Everything is the same and everything is not the same. Or the places are still there and we are not there. Or they did not change and we changed or we both changed in different directions. The degradation is visible and we perceive it to be so ..., the death of what we thought of as immortal: the centre of the world, the place of our own happiness” (1989: 14-5, my translation).*

The following two interviews particularly depicted Lisboa’s (1989) narrative of the return, and through them it is possible to identify the tense rapport between past and present, and the creative work individuals did to preserve a positive dimension in relation to their memories, even if it implies overlooking terrible and traumatising situations. Conde (1994) has suggested that memory can be represented according to diverse forms: ‘real memories’ and ‘imagined memories’. As argued by Conde (1994) both memories are distinct, but both co-existed and are always interconnected, in order to respond to the individuals’ need to recover their history, in which other people, situations and events are said to give a sense of temporality, and intersubjectivity (see, Paez et al., 1997):

Daniela: “*eramos pessoas que tínhamos uma vida muito privilegiada* [‘a very privileged life’] *in Mozambique, tínhamos uma vida muito boa* [‘a very good life’] .... *Costumávamos passar o fim-de-semana no Bilene* [Bilene is a well-known beach in Mozambique]. *Nos sempre fomos privilegiados* [‘we were always privileged’], *tínhamos um empregado que nos levava para a escola ... e a nossa vida* [‘our life’], *eu lembro-me da minha vida em Moçambique* [‘I remember my life in Mozambique’], *como uma vida privilegiada* [‘as a privileged life’]”;



Ana: “*eu vivi aquela infancia* [‘I lived that childhood’], *aquilo para mim era uma coisa tao querida* [‘everything was to me so loved’], *depois ver aquela miseria* [*to see that misery*], *aquele abandono* [‘that abandonment’] *todo.... ...nao, nao da, para mim nao da, nem pensar* [‘to me seems unthinkable’] (*she refers to the return*)”.

Finally, the group composed of those immigrants who during the interviews revealed that they had adopted a European life style, were not capable, at that time, of thinking of a return to Mozambique. If, previously, they referred to themselves as Mozambicans, when invited to explore this issue, specific expressions began to appear, and to outline the representations they held of their country of origin: ‘other reality’ [outra realidade]; ‘I am used to certain life conditions, such as security, health, education’ [estou habituado a certas condicoes de vida: segurança, saude, educação], ‘a stable life’ [uma vida estavel], ‘a different mentality’ [uma mentalidade diferente], ‘a small world’ [um mundo pequeno], ‘people do not develop themselves’ [as pessoas nao se desenvolvem], ‘discrimination’ [discriminação], ‘racism’ [racismo] in Mozambique, ‘a step back’ [voltar para tras], ‘I had to live as the minority lives’ [tinha de viver como a minoria], ‘my life style is already Westernised’ [o meu padra de vida esta ocidentalizado]:

Daniel: “*eu gostei quando estive de ferias, mas ferias é outra coisa do que viver, é outra realidade.... ..., nao tem condicoes, nao me oferece condicoes de vida...que estou habituado: segurança, saude, educação ... eu aqui ...tenho uma vida estave l.... ... o povo nao tem muita educação, contenta-se com o pouco trabalho...o racismo, a discriminação... nao sao tratados com respeito e dignidade”;*

Clara: “*completamente diferente, ... tem uma mentalidade completamente diferente ..., aquela cidade é grande, é um mundo pequeno, e as pessoas nao se desenvolvem ...se voltar para Moçambique, é voltar para tras*”;

Andre: “*eu tinha que viver igual a minoria. ... a pessoa nao aceita, nao se enquadra viver de acordo com a maioria, vai exactamente viver como esta a viver a minoria.... Porque, o meu padrao de vida esta ocidentalizado*”.

## **7.2 Narrative Moment of Analysis II: ‘*We are not Mozambicans, we are and we’re not*’<sup>77</sup> – Mozambican Immigrants’ Representations of Mozambican Culture and Community**

The accounts of the participants according to economic, social, cultural and psychological explanations, indicated that a return to their homeland is unlikely to happen<sup>78</sup>. Most of their stories were built around particular sentences and expressions believed to support their narratives, and to give coherence to each individual’s judgement. Regardless of this empirical evidence, a concern about the sort of representations these immigrants held of Mozambican culture and community, brought the following questions under investigation: ‘*is it possible to refer to a Mozambican culture?*’, ‘*do you think that is likely to identify a Mozambican community?*’.

Once again, the interviewed were reminded of earlier identity narratives through which they declared their identifications as: ‘Mozambicans’, ‘African’, and

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<sup>77</sup> My translation from the following interview’s extract: ‘*somos e nao moçambicanos, somos e nao somos...*’ (Julio).

<sup>78</sup> The reading of the data has not given sufficient evidence on the topic of diaspora. Participants clearly showed some reluctance a propos their return to the homeland, and a lack of interest to pursue their lives in accordance with the social, cultural and political needs of their country of origin – Mozambique. As far as I am concerned, it is difficult to refer to these immigrants as diasporic individuals.



'Mozambican/Portuguese'. A reading of the data from this subject indicated that most of the participants did not have a clear idea of what could be referred to as a 'Mozambican culture' and cultural 'identity'. For instance, one of the respondents that had previously identified herself as 'Mozambican/Portuguese' and had emphasised that Mozambique was her 'homeland' and 'root' (Alice), explained that a straightforward definition of Mozambican culture 'may happen' [pode acontecer] but it will be 'quite difficult' [muito difícil]:

Alice: *"Pode ser que isso venha a acontecer, vai ser muito difícil".*

One other individual expressed that she was convinced that it was hard to talk about a Mozambican culture. In accordance with her view, Mozambicans do not have a cultural 'expression' [expressao] that would not allow them to be described as an 'ethnic group' [grupo étnico]. On the contrary, in Portugal 'they do not live as Mozambicans' [nao vivem como moçambicanos], but rather 'as Portuguese' [como portugueses]. This respondent noticed that the evidence is directly related to the Mozambican immigrants' option of fostering a Portuguese life style. She then continued to argue that although individuals 'do not identify themselves as Portuguese' [nao se identificam como portugueses], they opted to live according to Portuguese norms, traditions, and cultural patterns. Simultaneously, these immigrants 'do not identify themselves with Mozambican values' [nao se identificam com os valores moçambicanos], and 'identity' [identidade], as a 'people that have a black part' [como um povo que tem uma parte negra]; they do not connect themselves with the existing problems in Mozambique, because there is 'no identification with Mozambique' [nao ha uma identificacao com Moçambique] . As a result, these

people can be defined 'neither as Portuguese [nem como portugueses], because they were not accepted in Portugal, 'nor as Mozambicans' [nem como moçambicanos], because they do not own a real culture upon which they could identify themselves – 'they are without identity' [estao sem identidade]:

Claudia: *"como um grupo étnico, eu nao sei se a gente pode ter expressao disso, porque os proprios moçambicanos em Portugal, nao vivem como moçambicanos, vivem como portugueses; entao, eles nao se identificam como portugueses, eles tem uma parte em que eles gostam das coisas em Portugal, como seja de comer, da vida social, e as condicoes de viver uma vida boa que, possivelmente, em Moçambique muitos perderam. ..., a nivel de valores moçambicanos, de identidade, como um povo que é a parte negra ... nao ha uma identificacao com Moçambique, as pessoas nao se identificam com os problemas que existe em Moçambique. ...estao sem identidade. Eles nao sao nem portugueses, porque se formos a ver eles nao sao aceites, mas nao sao moçambicanos, porque nao se identificam, porque fizeram de Moçambique nao um ponto de referencia onde eles viveram".*

To reinforce their argument, some of the interviewed drew upon a historical and cultural explanation. First, it is impossible to establish the real characteristics of what might be assumed to be Mozambican culture, because Mozambican immigrants' cultural background was that which was provided by the colonial system. Second, because Mozambicans are too 'quiet' [calado/s], 'we do not show others our culture' [nao mostramos a nossa cultura], consequently 'we are following the culture we were given during the colonial time' [seguimos a cultura que nos deram no tempo colonial]; Mozambicans are 'too passive' [muito passivos], 'live with passivity and laziness' [vivemos na passividade e comodismo], 'we do not know how to stand up for our rights' [a gente nao sabe é lutar pelos nossos direitos]. Subsequently, it is 'difficult' [é dificil] to 'answer' [responder] to the enquiry because Mozambicans



*'absorbed Portuguese culture'* [absorveram a cultura Portuguese]. As Mozambicans *'we are a race, but a race with two fatherlands'* [nos somos uma raça, mas uma raça com duas patrias]:

Luisa: *"acho que nos moçambicanos ainda estamos muito longe, muito longe de nos podermos identificar..., porque nos ficamos calados, ...nao mostramos ... a nossa cultura..., porque nos estamos a seguir a cultura que nos deram no tempo colonial";*

Julio: *"estou a ver queue nos, os moçambicanos, somo muito passivos, vivemos muito na passividade e comodismo. Nos podemos saber tudo, termos grandes ideias, grandes planos e muita ilusao na cabeça. Mas, uma coisa que a gente nao sabe é lutar pelos nossos direitos";*

Sara: *"é um bocado dificil responder essa pergunta, porque eu absorvi muito ... a cultura portuguesa. Nos somos uma raça, uma raça com duas patrias".*

During an interview given by Dr. Pedro Comissario, the Mozambican Ambassador, he clearly stated that *"as far as I am concerned, there is no Mozambican culture, a Mozambican identity – who knows perhaps it is a deliberate strategy. Politically, perhaps it is plausible to refer to a Mozambican community, nonetheless, this is an issue that ought to be carefully addressed"* (my translation, Lisbon, April 2000). An identical argument was offered by Jose Miguel, a representative of Mozambican Embassy Cultural Department, when self-questioning *"what is Mozambican culture?"*, *"What is it to be Mozambican?"* (my translation, Lisbon, April 2000).

### 7.2.1 'A Mozambican does not have that community and solidarity thing'<sup>79</sup>: *A Dialogue Between Immigrants and Mozambican Associations*

Moving the focus to the question whether or not a Mozambican community can be identified, the data have pointed to three contrasting stances. In this respect, first group of respondents argued that a Mozambican community did exist, whereas the second group categorically refused to accept the idea of an existing Mozambican community, based upon the sharing of values, cultural background, interests and ideals. Finally, the third group declared they did not have any knowledge of a Mozambican community (I shall not explore their accounts because it, literally, can be reduced to the following expressions: 'I do not know'; 'I do not have any information about that').

Those individuals who were willing to recognise a Mozambican community, built their perceptions upon 'the number of Mozambicans' [numero de moçambicanos] that held a reunion once a year at a party called '*The Annual Meeting of Mozambicans*'. A strong criticism emerged from this group addressed to other immigrants that were unprepared to acknowledge this evidence. One of the respondents spitefully referred to the enduring 'racial, cultural prejudices' [preconceitos raciais e culturais], and a Mozambican 'regional division' [divisao regional entre o norte e sul de Moçambique] . In order to strengthen his belief, he drew on a racial discourse by arguing that to many individuals a Mozambican community is thought of as a community when compounded by 'blacks'

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<sup>79</sup> My translation from an interview's extract: "eu acho que o moçambicano nao tem essa coisa de comunidade, de entreajuda" (Raul).



[pretos/negros], because the 'mulattoes' [mulatos] do not consider themselves as Mozambicans, due to their cultural mix:

*Agostinho: “onde? Em Portugal nao existe uma comunidade moçambicana? You must be joking. Entao, nao temos milhares de pessoas moçambicanas em Portugal? ...esta a ver ...sabe qual é a verdadeia comunidade moçambicana? Sao pretos, eu nao sou racista, ... porque a comunidade moçambicana no conceitos deles é negros e do sul, se for preciso, porque os do norte nao sao. Porque se fossem pretos a viver la, ja havia uma organizacao, mas como a maior parte é amulatada, gente misturada, entao ja nao sao moçambicanos”;*

*Luisa: “em Portugal, tinha uma comunidade moçambicana, e a gente encontrava-se uma vez por ano”.*

However, when invited to demonstrate the ways this community is culturally represented, their accounts expressed that there was no operative Mozambican association. Agostinho (see the above interview's extract), justified his view by arguing that the existing Mozambican associations are comprised of 'people that is playing around' [gente (que) esta a brincar], 'playful' [brincalhoes], and as a result it is unlikely to be identified an effective Mozambican association, because 'there is any organisation' [nao ha nenhuma organizacao], 'neither in Portugal' [nem em Portugal], 'nor in England' [nem em England]. Moreover, this participant accused the Mozambican Embassy, in London, of not developing any sort of cultural activities to make the Mozambican immigrants more dynamic:

*Agostinho: “como é que eles querem aproximar as pessoas, ninguem sabe de nada. A AMORIN [Mozambican Association in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland] !!! ...é uma brincadeira ... esses sao uns brincalhoes, essa gente*

*esta a brincar. Nao ha organizacao nenhuma, nem em Portugal, nem aqui [England], nem em lado nenhum. ...e a embaixada de Moçambique ...eles sao obrigados a dinamizar o pessoal, dinamizar moçambicanos e criar qualquer coisa como faz a embaixada de Cabo Verde, ... a de Angola”.*

The second group, composed of the majority of the immigrants, judged that the absence of a Mozambican community was due to: sociological and cultural characteristics intrinsic to the Mozambican individual; the cultural permeability Mozambicans offer to other cultures; and to a considerable lack of identification with the ‘Mozambican people’ [povo moçambicano], in contrast with a persisting ‘stereotyped nostalgia’ [saudosismo estereotipado]: ‘the stereotypes of a colonial past’ [os estereótipos do passado colonial].

One of the interviewed drew upon her past memories to argue that even in Mozambique, individuals did not live as a community, because their focus was the ‘family’ [familia] and a restricted group of ‘friends’ [amigos]. Another individual argued that Mozambicans sensed a cultural integration with other ‘races’ and ‘religions’ in their homeland, and through it they were provided with the ability of adapting themselves to other cultures.

One other respondent suggested that it is possible to refer to a community in terms of the number of Mozambican individuals living either in Portugal and/or in England. Nevertheless, according to this participant it is impossible to report that these immigrants are a community, because they do not have an ‘expression’ [expressao] that could correspond to the term, ‘they do not gather together’ [nao se reúnem], they do not have an element of expression/identification with other Mozambicans. With this assumption in mind, this participant argued that ‘meetings’ [encontros] that



happen from time to time *'do not have any sort of correspondence with reality of Mozambique'* [nao tem nada a ver com a realidade de Moçambique]. In fact, these meetings represent a *'stereotyped nostalgia'* [nostalgia estereotipada], *'the stereotypes of a colonial past'* [os estereotipos do passado colonial], still maintained alive by those who were *'privileged'* [privilegiados]. In the end, this respondent stated that Mozambicans do not possess the 'value of unity' [valor de unidade], and a *'value as fatherland'* [um valor como patria]:

Lidia: *"nem em Moçambique ...em Moçambique a gente convive, é a nossa familia e os amigos"*;

Sara: *"devido a uma grande mistura ... o moçambicano gosta de conviver com outras raças, por isso, acho que è mais facil nos adaptarmos as outras raças, as outras religioes"*;

Claudia: *"aqueles encontros, ...nao tem nada a ver com a realidade de Moçambique .... ..., é um saudosismo estereotipado...esses estereotipos do passado colonial ... aqueles que viveram, como eu, num periodo em que fomos privilegiados. ..., como moçambicanos, nao temos expressao nenhuma, porque nao ha um valor de unidade, nao ha um valor de patria"*.

The reading of the above accounts confirmed the perceptions of some Mozambican associative leaders, on the subject of the non-existence of a Mozambican community. In fact, some leaders related the vast hurdles they had to jump when organising meetings, and cultural activities, because of the problem of identifying a community of Mozambicans. As described by Francisco Lima, the representative of the *Associação dos Velhos Convivas de Moçambique*: *" a Mozambican detached himself, with a relative readiness, from his traditions. It is not possible to identify who is*

*Mozambican within the Portuguese society. A feeling of being Mozambican may exist ...nonetheless, it is not assumed as priority*” (my translation) (interview, Lisbon, April 2000). A priority Dr. Pedro Comissario, the Mozambican Ambassador in Portugal, described as follows: *“the Mozambican community is a silent and discrete community – but this is a natural characteristic of the Mozambican, who looks above all for professional success and family stability*” (my translation) (interview, Lisbon, April 2000) (see Chapter 6).

The solicitor of the *Casa de Moçambique*, Dr. Adriano Malalane, portrayed the Mozambican community as a diffuse entity. From his cultural and associative experiences, he argued that *“to define a Mozambican community it is necessary to bear in mind two criteria: the regional origin, and the criteria of nationality. Chiefly, the existing associations are more focused on acting punctually, according to entertainment and cultural goals. ..., in reality, there is a low search [by Mozambican immigrants] for associations, due to [good] language facilities and the [their] high education level in terms of academic and professional background: these are the characteristics of Mozambican immigration in Portugal”* (my translation) (interview, Lisbon, April 2000).

The President of *AMORIN* (Mozambican Association in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland) confessed that *“it is necessary to organise our performance on four topics: to create an identity that is culturally visible; to avoid a diffuse identity; to maintain Mozambique on our agenda and, to create activities in order to keep connections between England and Mozambique”* (my translation) (interview, London, April 2000).



Bringing together both the participants' and the Mozambican political and associative leaders' perceptions on the topic of community, it is possible to advance three main conclusions. First, there is an agreement between immigrants and the leaders regarding the absence of a Mozambican community.

Second, a lack of dialogue was obvious when exploring immigrants' reservations and scepticism regarding the cultural activities that were organised. According to their views, the absence of a well-organised and established community should not be utterly correlated with the doubt associated with the definition of Mozambican culture. On the contrary, this lack of clarity was interpreted as the absence of associative commitment to organise and bring the Mozambican people together culturally.

Third, the associative leaders made accusations, by alleging that their activities are unsuccessful because Mozambican immigrants are not concerned with a cultural representation of their own culture: because, on the one hand, it is not perceived by them as a "*priority*" regarding "*professional success and family stability*"; on the other hand, because cultural and educational similarities are believed to facilitate an easy incorporation into Portugal, and to represent an obstacle "*to identify[ing] who is Mozambican within the Portuguese society*". Moreover, none of them was sufficiently clear on the subject whether it is possible to refer to a Mozambican culture, only the Mozambican Ambassador, and Jose Miguel, the representative of the Mozambican Embassy Cultural Department have directly approached the issue.

### 7.3 Narrative Moment of Analysis III: African Mozambican Immigrants' Domestic Ethnicity

What role is ethnicity said to play within these immigrants' identity narratives? What sort of response have they adopted to overcome their dilemma of being "*without identity*"? The theory on ethnicity advanced that ethnicity ought to be approached as a socially constructed reply to social structures. As proposed by Fenton (1999) the terms of ethnic group, ethnic identity and ethnicity are realities generated by macro, meso and micro structures, as well as by groups' and individuals' reactions towards them.

The articulation between Fenton's observation (1999) and the data have illuminated the evidence of ethnicity in these individuals' narratives, and it is related to the following social inputs: the absence of any specific form of Portuguese or Mozambican cultural expression; the cultural assimilation within Portuguese society associated with a psychological need for distinctiveness; the non-existence of a real Mozambican community; and a lack of effective associations, either in Portugal or in England. Furthermore, participants' accounts have reported that ethnicity is a device of survival, of cultural recreation of the golden past, the time during which they were '*privileged*' [privilegiados], they had a '*privileged life*' [uma vida privilegiada]. A past fraught with memories of tastes and landscapes. A past that Lisboa's (1989) has defined as "*the lost paradise, the matrix, the magic kingdom*".

Particularly, this ethnicity emerged within micro environments where '*home*' [casa] is believed to allow the revival of the "*the place of our own happiness*" (Lisboa, 1989:14-5). From the empirical evidence the term '*domestic ethnicity*' [etnicidade



domestica] is believed to depict Mozambican immigrants' acculturative experiences. As referred to by one of the participants, Mozambicans do not own any sort of 'link' [elo], the existing connection is, in fact, the 'food' [comida], the 'Mozambican dishes' [os pratos moçambicanos], and which it is possible to reunited some 'families' [famílias]. One other respondent pointed out that only during private parties and birthdays it is feasible to keep alive a certain sense of 'community':

Sandra: *“nao ha um elo de ligacao cultural entre os moçambicanos, o unico elo é a comida. Nos juntamo-nos, uma, duas, ou tres familias, e fazemos questao de fazer os nossos pratos moçambicanos. Estamos ali juntos à volta da mesa, é o unico convivio que eu tenho com familias moçambicanas”*;

Clara: *“nao ha uma comunidade de entreajuda. Nos, claro, vemo-nos, conhecemo-nos ...encontramo-nos em festas, aniversarios”*.

#### **7.4 Narrative Moment of Analysis IV: A Conclusive Overview**

Basically, these were the life narratives of individuals who clearly expressed that their identity is 'neither Portuguese nor Mozambicans', and held strong reservations regarding the definition of what a Mozambican culture might be, because of the social and historical convulsions occurred throughout their individual trajectories. As seen from these immigrants' viewpoint, the complexity associated with their experiences of immigration, led them to adopt specific strategies of survival, regarding *“professional success and family stability”* (see Chapter 6). The data reported the importance of post-colonial vagueness as an issue to be taken into account, when exploring the topics of community and cultural representation. In this respect, the participants have come to terms with the evidence that culturally they are

*'silenced'*, *'passive'* and *'without identity'*, because they do not find the associative incentives to bring Mozambicans together as *'a people'* with a *'value of union'* and *'a value as fatherland'*, through which they could keep an active identification with their *'homeland'* – Mozambique.

The evidence from these interviews shows that ethnicity is viewed as a recovery of past times, through which these immigrants assumed the possibility of maintaining a positive sense of identity, by associating it with the memories of being *'privileged'*, and of having a *'privileged life'*.

With regard to the lack of cultural visibility and associative support, *'domestic ethnicity'* was perceived by the respondents as the most appropriate identity strategy to culturally give new strength to their conviction that the golden past is an ever-present reality, and this was reproduced from time to time when Mozambican families gathered around to re-build a sense of continuity, *"of history and of future"* (Rappaport, 1993: 24).



## 8 Conclusions and Final Reflections

*“In the end, what is it to be Mozambican?  
I never venture to  
try to define what is Mozambican  
because one of the important  
characteristics of Mozambique ...  
is a mixture of the values  
which make up this country”.*

Nelson Saute

Throughout the preceding chapters, the stories African Mozambican immigrants' experiences were told. The research premise that individuals' identities and perceptions of the world are socially constructed, according to the constant inputs emerging from the rapport between them and social structures was examined. Within the scope of this project, three research hypotheses were incorporated. Firstly, African Mozambicans immigrants are not an ethnic group. Secondly, ethnicity is a term that has to be thought of as dissociated from the notions of ethnic group and ethnic identity. And, thirdly, the above notions are socially constructed.

Aimed to explore the complex reality of immigration, a theoretical framework was developed by looking at the literature on acculturation, strategies/modes of acculturation, culture, group and identity, debates regarding the notions of ethnic group, ethnic identity and ethnicity were explored. The above concepts were analysed and discussed through empirical evidence, and the debates the literature

offered. In this respect, the approach to the notion of acculturation was made by taking notice of two complementary stances.

The first stance, was related to Berry's (1980) model of acculturation strategies, composed of a scheme of modes of acculturation individuals and groups are believed to foster. They are: *assimilation*; *integration*, *separation*, and *marginalisation*<sup>80</sup>. However, recent empirical evidence has turned attention to Berry's typology deficiency when disregarding the possibility that individuals may over time change their acculturative strategy within the host society, and turn to an associated acculturative mode (e.g. Khan and Vala, 1999). Furthermore, Berry's model has also been subjected to criticism, because it overlooks the influence that groups' and individuals' social identity may have upon their strategies of acculturation. Taking these problems into account, Berry's model (1980) was employed, but without losing sight of the aforementioned criticisms.

With these reservations in mind, a second stance was aimed at challenging Berry's model which misrepresents the concept of identity. Thus, Tajfel's (1978) Social Identity Theory and identity typology was incorporated to counterbalance the perceived inadequacy. As observed by Tajfel (1978), identity is vital to each individual's life, as well as a need for a positive dimension which impels groups to go through a chain of social comparisons with other cultural groups, in order to achieve a certain psychological distinctiveness. This process was believed to be sustained by diverse identity strategies: *social creativity*, *social change*, and *social mobility*.

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<sup>80</sup> A complete definition of each mode of acculturation was introduced on Chapter 2.



In regard to the terms of ethnicity, ethnic group and ethnic identity, theoretical and empirical information has revealed distinct approaches to them: the so-called debate between primordialists and circumstantialists. Both theoretical pools were discussed, but did not provide substantial arguments to outline accurately the nature of ethnicity. Ethnicity was assumed to be the main focus of this research. Hence, the investigation addressed ethnicity at various levels of analysis: a) *ethnicity as a cultural phenomenon*; b) *ethnicity and power relations*; finally, c) *ethnicity articulated with structure and agency*. The last level of analysis was seen as fitting with the scope of the research (Fenton, 1999).

At a methodological level, it was attempted to verify the theories and concepts most appropriate to this study. A closer look at the literature has pointed to two corresponding methodological traditions: the symbolic interactionism, and the social constructionism. Both approaches agreed that individuals' identities and representations of the world are socially constructed, through interactions between individuals and social structures. In addition, both methodological lines of research were thought to contribute discourse analysis. In fact, discourse analysis was intimately related to the research assumption that individuals constructively establish an interaction with the prevailing social structures by resorting to discourse. Regardless of this assumption, it was also believed that individuals use discourse and available discursive tools (interpretative repertoires) as a narrative form, in order to provide their identities and judgements with patterns of temporality and contextuality.

Having defined the theoretical and methodological architecture, it was considered of great importance to step back in time. A historical and sociological background related to Mozambican immigrants was developed, in order to make a bridge of continuities between the past and present; to understand the reasons that drew the participants out of their country of origin; and to explore the essence of their identities documented through the analysis of the different periods: Portuguese colonialism (1926-1974), the process of decolonisation (1964-1974), the Transitional Government (1974-1975), and the Independence of Mozambique (1975, 25<sup>th</sup> June onwards).

A further phase of this research project was supported by the development of fieldwork and the adoption of the method interview technique. The semi-structured interview and individual interview – either with the participants or with political and associative leaders - were understood to be the most fitting fieldwork tools to accomplish the research aims. Finally, a scheme of questions was assembled based on either the theoretical and methodological framework, or historical information.

Participants were invited to account for their perceptions of the following narrative moments of analysis: Portuguese colonialism; the Mozambican independence process; FRELIMO's revolutionary project of a new Mozambican society, and immigration project to Portugal. Regarding these issues, the data have shown a dynamic identification process. Respondents were seen to change their identities in accordance with the social and political convulsions occurred in Mozambique. The data have also revealed a constant movement of identity encompassing three phases: 'we are Portuguese', 'we are Mozambicans', and 'we are Portuguese'. Moreover,



individuals' opposition to the economic and social changes in association with positioning their identity as Portuguese, were seen to constitute the central reasons which led the participants towards an immigration project to Portugal.

Unexpectedly, Portugal was perceived as a strange country. The analysis from this perspective noticed accounts of racism, discrimination and social ignorance emerging from the respondents' descriptions of Portuguese society. As a result, a tense acculturative mode between *cultural assimilation* (similar language and cultural background) and *psychological separation* (because of a non-identification with Portuguese mentality and values) was seen as an intrinsic feature of the relationship between Mozambican immigrants and the host society. Parallel with this evidence, it was also understood that participants opted for an identity strategy considered, according to Tajfel's (1978) typology, as *social creativity*. In this respect, the data pointed to a cultural investment from the respondents to reverse the pejorative connotations related to a colonialist perception that 'blacks' or 'Africans' are 'immature' 'uncivilised', and culturally 'ignorant'. The immigrants took it as a certainty that these features were not the real attributes of Africans, but, in fact, they believed the opposite: these terms reflected the cultural characteristics of Portuguese people.

Taking this into account, the immigration project to England was considered to be a way of overcoming the social and psychological problems the participants had been confronted with in Portugal. Regarding the new acculturative arena, the respondents referred to the accomplishment of particular goals: to find a better job, to increase their educational horizons, and to provide them and their families with a sense of stability and tranquillity. Additionally, it was also reported by these immigrants that

in the new host society they found a friendly and protected environment, that allowed them to feel welcome and respected. With regard to this evidence, an *integrative strategy of acculturation* was seen to prevail between the respondents and the new receiving society. Ultimately, it was also noticed that the inputs of the new social structures, thought of as protective and respectful of immigrants' rights, have not induced to the emergence of any specific identity strategy.

Accordingly, these results have confirmed the research expectations. First, that it is possible to assume that individuals may be engaged in an articulated mode of acculturation (*cf.* Berry, 1980). Second, that it is reasonable to assume a strong connection between individuals' and group's style of acculturation with identity strategies. In other words, both levels are corresponding elements. And third, that a social change of immigrants' status is likely to occur over a period of time.

On the topic of identity, participants have reported to understand themselves as 'Mozambicans', 'African', 'Mozambican/Portuguese'. Only one individual has portrayed herself as '*European*'. Giving allowance for their perceptions, respondents were asked to explore their identifications with their 'homeland' and their 'root'. Although some of them expressed a wish to return to Mozambique, a closer look at their narratives showed that it was an 'imagined' desire rather than a 'real' project, considering their justifications of individual financial problems, and suspicion regarding Mozambican politicians. Other immigrants declared a strong cleavage between their past identification with the prevailing conditions of life in Mozambique. Also, they felt there was a considerable distinction between their present life style, and the one existing in their 'homeland'.



Reminded of their identity narratives, respondents were invited to present their representations of a Mozambican culture. The data have indicated that the majority of the immigrants were unprepared to formulate the features of a Mozambican culture. This cultural difficulty was believed by the participants to be related to the fact that they have never had either a real 'Portuguese' or 'Mozambican' culture. In addition, they agreed that Mozambican individuals are too 'passive', 'silent', and that they opted to live with 'passivity and laziness'. Consequently, they do not hold any identification with their country of origin; they do not identify themselves either as 'Portuguese' or as 'Mozambicans', they do not have a cultural 'expression'. Despite this evidence, their option was to follow the norms and traditions that were given to them by the '*colonial culture*', and to maintain an identification with a past time wherein they had a 'privileged life'.

Following this identity journey, ethnicity was said to play a significant role in psychological survival, and it was a cultural device to sublimate the situation of non-visibility and misrepresentation. These issues were subjected to harsh criticism for the absence of effective and operative Mozambican associations. Thus far, on the grounds of the assembled data, the term 'domestic ethnicity' referred to a discrete process of social distinctiveness, through it 'home' was believed to be the safe place, wherein the past of the 'privileged life' and the positive sense of identity are corresponding realities.

The data arising from this project confirm earlier research hypotheses. Firstly, it is not possible to refer to these immigrants as an ethnic group because they do not

possess a cultural distinctiveness, the 'value of unity', the 'value as fatherland', that could give them a sense of partaking of the same ancestry, solidarity, myths and traditions. The features commonly attached to an ethnic group. Secondly, data have pointed out that ethnicity was an identity strategy constructed in accordance with social structure inputs: the unclearness related to the definition of a Mozambican culture; the absence of a sense of community, and finally the belief that there were not any sort of competent Mozambican associations aimed at bringing immigrants culturally together, and stimulating the emergence of a Mozambican culture. Finally, following the above evidence, data have also validated the assumption that the notions of ethnic group and identity and ethnicity are not overlapping realities, and that the above notions should be thought of as social constructs – *i.e.* perceived as socially constructed.

The development of this research project encountered several problems. First, the awareness of tackling an unexplored issue sometimes brought feelings of insecurity and uncertainty regarding what could be the most adequate paths of research. Second, an absence of empirical research and statistical information in the domain of Mozambican immigration is assumed to have limited the examination of the assembled data.

Regardless of these hurdles, it is believed that this research project have allowed African Mozambican immigrants to unveil the emotions and perceptions they ever thought would be said, and to divulge the identity and life narratives that were silently waiting to be shared and understood.



This study did not only aim to examine these individuals' trajectories, but to open a door to other researchers in the domain of Mozambican immigration. If life is a narrative (Bruner, 1987), surely somewhere out there, there will be other Mozambican 'tellers' waiting for their 'listeners' ... .

## 9 References

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## **10 Appendix – Comprising a Basis for Interview**

### **10.1 Mozambican Political and Cultural Leaders**

- 1) Do you think it is possible to refer to a Mozambican community in Portugal and England?
- 2) What are the characteristics of a Mozambican community?
- 3) What kind of associative and cultural interfaces are established between Mozambican associations and the Mozambican community?
- 4) How many Mozambican associations exist in Portugal and England?
- 5) What are the activities and goals of these associations?
- 6) Would you like to present any suggestion to this research project?

### **10.2 African Mozambican Immigrants**

#### **Section One: Socio-Demographic Variables**

- a) sex;
- b) age;
- c) place of birth;
- d) nationality;
- e) status;
- f) education;
- g) work experience.

#### **Section Two: African Mozambican immigrants' perceptions of Portuguese colonialism, Mozambican independence, and reasons of immigration:**

- a) In Mozambique, did you live in the countryside or in the city?
- b) Where does your family come from?



- c) What did you do in Mozambique?
- d) Was it easy for you to have access to education, employment and health services?
- e) Did you have free access to public places?
- f) With whom did you frequently interact?
- g) What was the relationship between the Portuguese system and the native population?
- h) Did you feel that the African population shared the same rights and duties as the white Portuguese community?
- i) Did you feel there was any sort of racial and cultural distinction among the native people?
- j) How did you perceive the Mozambican independence?
- k) Did you conform with FRELIMO's program of a new society?
- l) What were the reasons that forced you to leave Mozambique?
- m) Why did you choose Portugal?

**Section Three (part I): Mozambican immigrants' perceptions of Portuguese society, modes of acculturation, and identity strategies:**

- a) When you came to Portugal, where did you live?
- b) Did you feel that you were an immigrant?
- c) Did you feel the Portuguese institutions trusted you?
- d) Was it easy to find a job?
- e) Did you have equal job opportunities and salaries as other Portuguese?
- f) Did you feel integrated within Portuguese culture?
- g) What were your perceptions of the people living in Portugal?

- h) With whom did you have a close relationship?
- i) Did you feel discriminated in Portugal?
- j) In your opinion, what were the reasons behind this discrimination?
- k) When you felt discrimination, how did you react?
- l) Did you have feelings of insecurity?
- m) What did you miss when you were living in Portugal?
- n) Did you follow the news about Mozambique?
- o) What were the motives underlying your departure from Portugal?

**Section Three (part II): Mozambican immigrants' perceptions of English society, modes of acculturation, and identity strategies (The same questions were asked; see above section one (part I).**

**Section Four: Mozambican immigrants' perceptions of their identity; identification with the homeland; Mozambican culture; and associative efforts of cultural representation:**

- a) How would you define yourself? (Portuguese/Mozambican/Mozambican from a specific region or ethnic group/African/European/);
- b) In your opinion, what does it mean to be Mozambican?;
- c) How would you define Mozambican culture?
- d) Have you ever felt confused about yourself?;
- e) Would you consider the idea of going back to Mozambique?
- f) Do you think of Mozambican immigrants as being a community of 'like' people?



- g) Do Mozambican immigrants support each other through cultural associations?
- h) Are you a member of any Mozambican association?
- i) What should the functions of these associations be?
- j) Is it possible to refer to a Mozambican culture and identity?
- k) Would you like to say something in relation to this research? Any suggestions or criticisms?